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K Krishna Murthy

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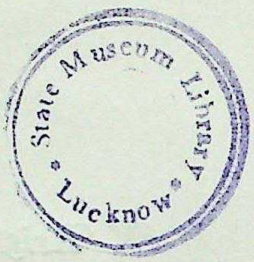

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Konakondla Krishna Murthy

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PREFACE

The study of the material culture of our ancient past as delineated in sculptures and paintings is still in an inceptive stage. Pioneering work, however, has been done in the field by scholars like K. De B. Codrington, Sivaramamurti, Moti Chandra, Agrawala and others. The learned work of Sivaramamurti on Amaravati Sculptures inspired me to undertake the study of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Sculptures.

Hitherto, no substantial study has been made of the material culture depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Sculptures except for an article by A. V. Naik, entitled, "Studies in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Sculptures", published in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Post Graduate Research Institute. Here, too, his work deals only with the sculptures published in Longhurst's book, "The Budhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Madras Presidency". Thus, his study has not been comprehensive. Subsequently, I published some articles in this direction in the journals like "Artibus Asiae," "Arts Asiatiques" and of Orissa Historical Research Society.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Sculptures portray vividly architecture, the life-scenes of the Buddha, Jātaka and Avadāna stories in the three forms of art expressions, namely, symbolic, synoptic and narrative. In executing them, the ancient artistes have meticulously depicted the life of the Ikshvāku people in kaleodoscopic variety, reflecting intensely on the mode of dress, coiffure, personal ornaments, toilet articles, flora and fauna etc. The weapons of war, such as bows and arrows, swords and daggers, revealing high class military life the musical instruments, bespeaking the civilized mind and the aesthetic outlook of the people and the various gaming material, giving an idea of gay and sportive life, besides the other miscellaneous objects like fans, domestic objects, have all been brought within the compass of sculptural art. Indubitably, the artist had in his mind the contemporary life of the people under the Ikshvākus and supplemented the information from the Jātaka Stories.

The present book *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā : A Cultural Study* tries to cover the entire Sculptural material, discovered in the explorations and excavations, conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1927-31, 1938 and 1954-60, including those sculptures now housed in the Musēe Guimet, Paris and the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Since the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley is in undated by the Nāgārjuna Sāgar dam, the data brought out by the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Excavtion Project, is final. Therefore the present book may justifiably claim completeness as far as material culture, reflected in these sculptures, is concerned. This study of the life of the people under the Ikshvākus, as depicted in the sculptures, tries to bring out the elements of contemporary rich material culture and locate the contemporary plastic parallels and finally tries to corroborate the Archaeological data with the literary one. This summarily may be stated to be the original contribution of this book.

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In the preparation of this book, I received valuable guidance from my teacher, Dr. S. B. Deo, Professer and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute, Poona. I am deeply beholden to Dr. S. B. Deo for his valuable guidance and suggestions.

I am thankful to Sarva Shri N.G. Banerjee and P.R.K. Prasad who have prepared the line-drawings and the map in this book respectively.

I am also thankful to the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, for his kind permission to use the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā excavation material. (Vide his letter No. 23/1/72 Pub. dated 17th August, 1972).

About the illustrations (Plates and Figures), all the plates incorporated in this book are *by the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.* The copyright of these photographs rests with the Archaeological Survey of India.

Many thanks are due to my publisher Shri Naurang Rai, for the speedy production and neat get-up of this book.

Lastly, I express my thanks to Vijayalakshmi, my wife, for all her help.

New Delhi
August 15, 1977

K. KRISHNA MURTHY

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	:	Artibus Asiae
AI	:	Ancient India
Āp. Dh. Sū.	:	Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra
ARSIE	:	Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy
ASIAR	:	Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports
AV	:	Atharva Veda
Bau. Śr. Sū.	:	Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
BD	:	Book of Discipline
BDCRI	:	Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute
BMCJ	:	Marshall, F.H. Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Depts. of Antiquities, British Museum, (London, 1907)
BV	:	Bhāratīya Vidyā
Cull.	:	Cullavagga
Cent.	:	Centuries, Century
DhA	:	Commentary on Dhammapada
DN	:	Dīgha Nikāya
EI	:	Epigraphia Indica
Gr.	:	Greek
IAR	:	Indian Archaeology—A Review
IC	:	Indian Culture
IHQ	:	Indian Historical Quarterly
J	:	Jātaka
JAOS	:	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JISOA	:	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
JMA	:	Journal of the Music Academy
JNSI	:	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India

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JOIB	:	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
JOR	:	Journal of Oriental Research, Madras
JUPHS	:	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society
Kum	:	Kumārasaṁbhava
Māl	:	Mālavikāgnimitra
MASI	:	Mem. Arch. Surv. of India
Meg.	:	Meghadūta
MER	:	Madras Epigraphical Reports
MhV	:	Mahāvaṇśa
Nisī Cū	:	Nisītha Cūrṇi
NPP	:	Nāgari Pracharṇi Patrikā
OHRJ	:	Orissa Historical Research Society Journal
Panch. Br.	:	Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa
Pal.	:	Pāli
QJMS	:	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society
Ragh.	:	Raghuvaṁśa
Rtu	:	Rtusamhara
ṚV	:	Rigveda
Śak	:	Śākuntalam
Śat. Br.	:	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
S.B.E.	:	Sacred Books of the East
Skt.	:	Sanskrit
Taitt. Br.	:	Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa
Uttarā	:	Uttarādhyayana
Vin	:	Vinaya
Vism	:	Visuddhimagga

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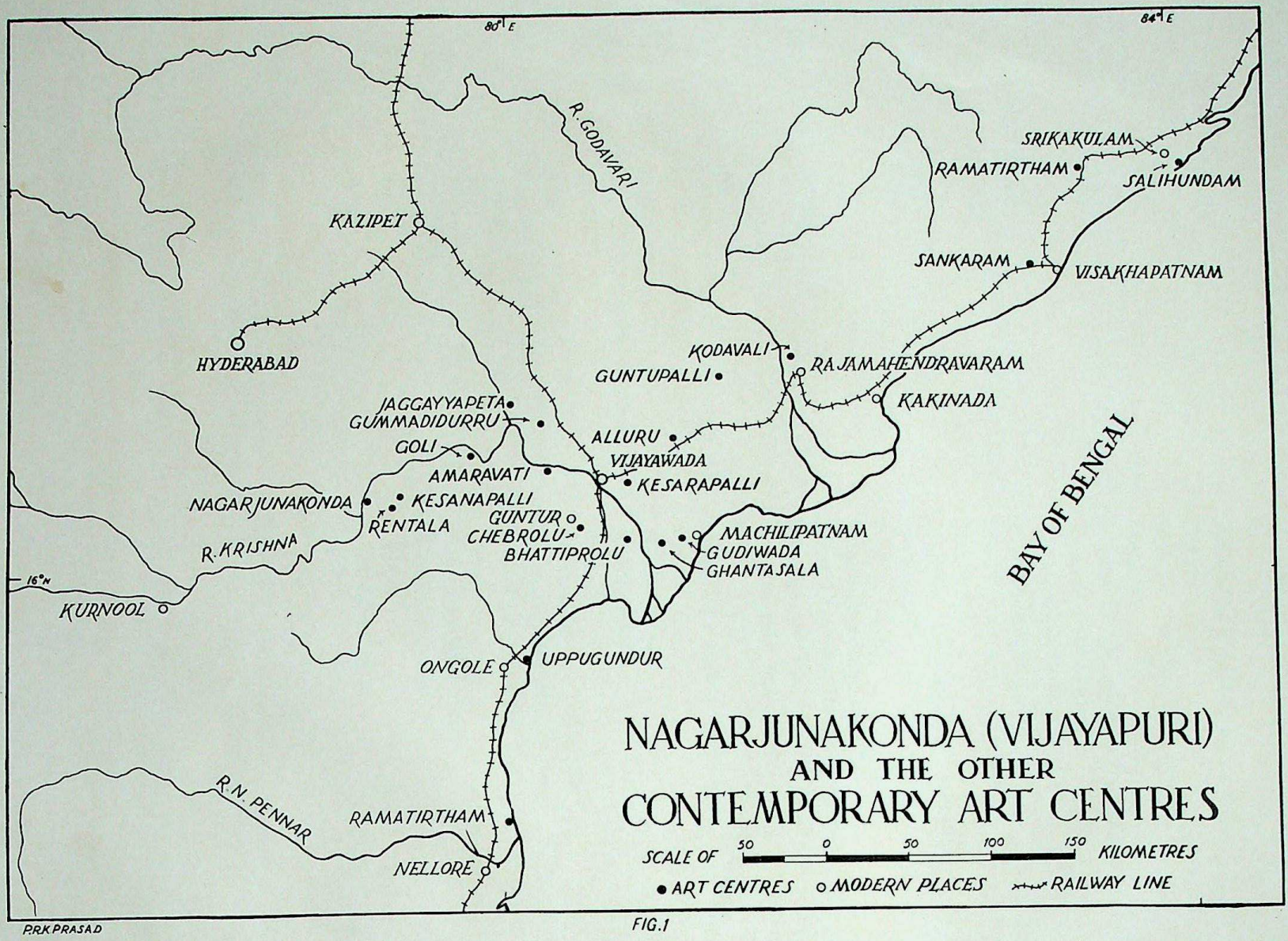

Fig. 1 Nagarjunakonda (Vijaya Puri) and the other contemporary Art centres.

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ONE

Historical Background

DISCOVERY AND SUBMERGENCE

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā[1] or the hill of Nāgārjuna (Lat. 16°31′ N; Long. 79°14′ E), is the name of the Valley situated on the right bank of the river Kṛishṇā, 22 km. to the west of Macherla (the terminus of the meter-gauge railway line from Vijayawāḍā) in the Palnāḍ taluk of the Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh (Fig. 1). It was an isolated valley enclosed by formidable natural fortifications of small hill ranges which are but offshoots of the Nallamalāi range (the Black-Hill). It was here, sometime in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D., the founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty established his capital, Vijayapurī. It is interesting to note that the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus mention Vijayapurī invariably with reference to Śrīparvata[2] (*Siripavate Vijayapure*). This valley, well known for its archaeological wealth, is to-day engulfed by the mighty Nāgārjuna Sāgar Dam constructed across the Kṛishṇā.

The name Nāgārjunakoṇḍā is of medieval origin[3] and in ancient times, as is evident from the epigraphs[4] of the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., the Valley was known as Vijayapurī, the glorious capital of the Ikshvākus. However, the presumptive association of Nāgārjuna, the celebrated Buddhist philosopher of the *Mādhyamika* school of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, with the hill or the valley is not established on the basis of the archaeological finds.

1 *Koṇḍā* means 'hill' in Telugu.

2 *EI*, Vol. XX, P.1. IV, Section 1, Line 2. Dr Vogel identifies *Śrīparvata* with a small hillock, an off-shoot of Nallamalāi range located in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā itself. The inscription clearly mentions *Vijayapurīyā-Puva-disā-bhāge Vihāre chula-Dhaṁmagirīyām* (The chula-Dhaṁmagiri-vihāra on *Srīparvata* east of Vijayapurī). Hence Vogel's identification of *Srīparvata* is tenable.

3 S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (Madras, 1919), pp. 113-114 and p. 184; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. III, pp. 112-113; *Mac. MSS*, 15.4.40, pp. 18ff, Kaifiyat of Kondavidu; *Mac. MSS*, 15.4.5, p. 108; Kaifiyat of Anumakonda; Kaifiyat of Samarlakota, pp. 147-49; Nilakaṅta Sastri, *op. cit.*, II, p. 251.

4 *EI*, vol. XX, p. 22. Inscription F; Pl. IV-Section 1, Line 2; *IAR 1957-58*, pp 8-9; *IAR 1958-59*, Pl. IV-A; *IAR 1961-62*, p. 77.

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The discovery of this site was quite accidental; in 1926, Suraparaju Venkataramaih, a school teacher of the surrounding locality, accidentally saw a pillar and reported his discovery to the then Madras Government. Later, the site was visited by the late Shri Sarasvati, Telugu Assistant to the Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras; and the archaeological potentiality of the site was duly recognised. Thereafter, the site became the scene of activity for archaeologists. Longhurst[5] conducted excavations here for three years from 1927 to 1931. As a result of his excavations a number of Buddhist monasteries and other monuments were discovered alongwith numerous lime-stone sculptures. Afterwards Ramachandran[6] carried out excavations at the site in 1938, and was responsible in exposing some more monuments.

It was in 1954 and as a sequel to the proposed construction of the Dam near *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā* that this famous archaeological site—which can be legitimately called "the Sarnath of south India"—was threatened with complete submergence. With a view to salvaging the archaeological material large-scale excavations were conducted between 1954-60 by a team of scholars under the guidance of Dr R. Subrahmanyam.[7] The large-scale excavations brought to light innumerable relics ranging from the Early Stone Age to the late medieval period. In order to give the posterity an idea of what they looked like, about fourteen large replicas of the excavated ruins are put on open display in two groups on the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Hill. And miniature models of fifty excavated localities are housed in the newly built museum on the hill top along with other antiquities and sculptures portraying *stūpa* architecture, life-scenes of the Buddha, Jātaka stories, etc.[8] Also some of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures excavated by Longhurst are displayed at the National Museum, New Delhi; Government Museum, Madras; and the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Some others, discovered earlier in 1925-26,[9] found their way to Paris and New York, and are now housed in the Musée Guimet, Paris and the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The written history of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley begins with the discovery of the coins belonging to the later Sātavāhana kings—Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī,

5 A.H. Longhurst. *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Madras Presidency* MASI, No. 54 (1938).

6 T.N. Ramachandran, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā 1938*, MASI, No. 71 (1953).

7 The excavations were done under Supervision of Dr R. Subrahamanyam assisted by others including the present author.

8 H. Sarkar and B.N. Misra, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā* (1966), p. 5.

9 The discovery of pillars with an inscriptions datable to 3rd century A.D., and of three *stūpas* is reported in *South Indian Epigraphy, Report for 1925-26*, p. 62. The reliefs discovered from these *stūpas* found their way to Paris and New York (vide Coomaraswamy 'Buddhist reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Amaravati', *Rūpam–Joun. of Oriental Art*, No. 38-39, April-July 1929, p. 70). They have been published by Hackin. J., Sculptures Boudhiques a' Guimet' *Cahiers d' Art*, 1927, Nos. 4 and 5. Grousset, R., The Great period of Indian Art illustrated in recent acquisitions of the Musée Guimet, *Indian Art and Letters, N.S.I.*, 1927. Two of the Musée Guimet relief have also been published in *Artibus Asiae*, 1928, Part 4; one again by Gaston Migon in *Eastern Art*, 1, Pl. XIII.

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Pulumāvī, Yajna Sātakarṇi, etc., and the inscription[10] of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi dated in his sixth regnal year. This inscription, beyond doubt establishes that Buddhism had penetrated into the valley well before the advent of the Ikshvākus.

It is apparent, however, that Nāgārjunakoṇḍā did not attain any importance during the rule of the later Sātavāhanas for their capital was at Dhānyakaṭaka or Dharaṇikoṭā—modern Amarāvatī. Nāgārjunakoṇḍā rose to prominence only in the wake of the decline of the Sātavāhana power when Vāsishṭhīputra chāṁtamūla, the founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty, usurped a portion of the Sātavāhana kingdom to establish his capital Vijayapurī[11] or 'the city of victory'. This happened in the first quarter of the third century A.D.

In early literature, the word Ikshvāku[12], as the name of a prince occurs in the *Ṛigveda* and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*. He is described as a great hero in the *Atharvaveda*; MacDonell and Keith consider the Ikshvākus as a branch of the Puru family. Later Ikshvākus are connected chiefly with Ayodhyā, the capital of Kosala *janapada*. Both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Purāṇas give a long list of the Ayodhyā kings. The Srīparvatīya Āndhras, mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, appear to be identical with the Ikshvākus who ruled from Srīparvata Vijayapurī in the early third century A.D.[13]

The names of the four Ikshvāku rulers[14]—(i) Vāsiṣṭhīputra chāṁtamūla, (ii) Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta, (iii) Vāsiṣṭhīputra Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla and (iv) Vāsishṭhīputra Rudrapurushadatta—are known from the inscriptions and coins discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. However, the name of another king—Vāsishṭhīputra Vasuseṇa of the Ābhīra dynasty of the Nasik region—is available from the inscription[15] discovered at *Ashṭabhujasvāmin* temple. The occurrence of this inscription,

10 *AI*, No. 16, p. 84. This is a four line prākṛit inscription on a pillar of the sixth regnal year of Vijaya Sātakarni, one of the last Sātavāhana kings, in Brahmi script of the third century A.D. See *IAR 1961-62*, p. 77.

11 Many inscriptions indicate the city-name as Vijayapurī, vide *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 22, inscription F; plate IV-section 1, line 2; *IAR, 1957-58*, p. 8-9; *1958-59*; p. 6, pl. IV-A etc. and IAR *1967-68*, p. 52. This records Vīrapuruṣhadatta as *Siripavatādhipati* and *Māṭharīputa*.

12 The Sanskrit word "*Ikshvāku*" means a gourd. See D.C. Sircar, *The Successors of Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, (Calcutta, 1939), p. 10ff.

13 F.E. Pargiter, in *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (London, 1931), p. 46, verse 32.

14 For detailed discussion of the geneology and chronology of the Ikshvākus – see B.V. Krishna Rao, *Early History of the Andhra country* (Madras, 1941), pp. 125ff; D.C. Sircar, *EI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 5ff; R. Subrahmanyam, *A Catalogue of the Ikshvāku Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum* (Hydrabad, 1962), p. 7ff; I.K. Sharma,(1)'Select Inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā', *Joun. of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXIX (Madras 1959-60), Part I-II, pp. 41-59; (2) "Vijaya year in the Ikshvāku Inscriptions and Srīparvata Vijayapurī", *Joun. of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, (1969), vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, pp, 126-134 ; Soundararajan, K.V., *Joun, of Gujarat Research Society*, Vol. XXV, Oct. 1963; pp. 285-92; M. Rama Rao, *Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri* (Sri Venkateswara University Historical Series No. 4, Tirupati, 1967); Recently an inscription dated in the 24th regnal year of Vīrapurushadatta is reported to have been discovered (*IAR 1967-68*, p. 52). The inscription styles the king as *Srīparvatādhipati*.

15 *EI*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 197-204.

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dated in the 30th year of Ābhīra Vasuṣeṇa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, has been interpreted by some as a reference to the Ābhīra invasion and occupation of this region by them. This does not seem to be correct in view of the happy relations that Ikshvākus had with the rulers of Vanavāsi and Ujjain. The Ikshvāku kings might have ruled the lower basin for about a hundred years or so. Their dynasty consisted of

(*i*) *Chāṁtamūla*

Chāṁtamūla, the founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty rose to power by putting an end to the tottering Sātavāhana rule in the lower Kṛishṇā basin. His inscriptions are dated in his 5th, and 13th regnal years. The Rentala inscription, dated in his 5th regnal year, gives the name of Siri Chāṁtamūla and establishes his authenticity.[16] Again, at Kesanapalli[17] an *āyaka* pillar of the Buddhist *stūpa* is found to bear an inscription in four lines that gives the name of Vāsishṭīputra Chāṁtamūla as the founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty and establishes his authenticity. The inscription is dated in the 13th regnal year of the ruler. An inscription[18] of the later king Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla credits him as a victor in many battles by his own valour (*Sva-vīrya-ārjjita-vijaya-kirtteḥ Ikshvākūnāṁ Srī-Chāṁtamūlasya*). He was a devout Hindu and an implicit worshipper of Kārttikeya, the god of war. The records of his successors extol him as a great performer of Vedic sacrifices like the *Agniṣṭoma* the *Vājapēya*, the *Aśvamedha*, etc. The discovery of his *Aśvamedha* type coins, the *avabhṛitha* tank, the *kūrmachiti*, and the skeleton of the horse during the recent excavations[19] affirm some of his achievements.

Nothing is known about the father of Chāṁtamūla, except that he had many wives, daughters and the son Chāṁtamūla. Chāṁtamūla's daughter, Advai Chāṁtiśri, was given in marriage to Mahāsenapatī Mahātalavara Daṇḍanāyaka Khamḍaviśākha of the Dhanaka family. His son, Vīrapurushadatta, married Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, a princess of Ujjain. Chāṁtamūla had two uterine sisters named Chāṁtaśri and Hammaśrī. Chāṁtaśri, married to Mahātalavara Skandaśri of the Pūkiya family, was a great patron of Buddhism. She was primarily responsible for the construction of the *Mahāchaitya* (the earliest datable Buddhist establishment) during the 6th regnal year of Vīrapurushadatta, her son-in-law.[20]

Tradition asserts that after the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* of Lord Buddha his relics were enshrined in the eight *stūpas* erected at Rājgṛiha, Vaisāli, Kapilavastu, Allakappa

16 *EI*, XXXVII, 1967, pp. 29-32.

17 At Kesanapalli, a village near Dachapalli in Guntur district, a Buddhist *stūpa* is reported to have been discovered. From the same site, on an *āyaka-khambha* an inscription running in four lines is also recorded vide, *The Hindu* dated Sunday, March 16, 1969: 'Newly found *Buddhist stūpa at Kesanapalli*, by N. Ramesan, (Magazine Section) page 1. Also see *Epigraphia Andhrica*, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1969, pp. 146-149.

18 *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17-19, Text, line-4.

19 *IAR, 1956-57*; pls. LV-A, LV-B; See also Krishnamurthy, K., 'Asvamedha ritual and its antiquity', *JOHRS*, X (1962), No. 4, pp. 24ff.

20 *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 1ff.

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Rāmagrāma, Vethādipa, Pāvā, and Kusinārā; besides the shrines erected by Droṇa and Mauryas.[21] Out of these seven *stūpas* were opened by the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka who distributed the relics in turn into 84,000 *stūpas* all over the world.[22] He sent various missionaries to propagate Buddhism. Of these, Majjhima and Kassapa went to the Himalyan region, Mahādeva came to *Mahīshamaṇḍala*[23] and from here he appears to have travelled towards the Pallavabhogga or modern Palanāḍ. This visit was instrumental for the *Mahāchaitya* being constructed here, which enshrined Buddha's relics. It is stated that later he (Mahādeva) went to Anurādhāpura in Ceylon for the construction of the Suvaṇṇamālaka *stūpa* or the Ruerwali *stūpa* from Pallavabhogga with a large number of monks.[24]

The tradition of this is attested at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā in two ways (i) by the excavation which disclosed reliquary containing tooth relic of the Buddha from the *Mahāchaitya*, (ii) by an inscription which alludes to it as the *dhātu* or the bodily relic of the Buddha (*Sāṁmā-Saṁbudhasa dhātuvara-parighitasa*). The *Mahāchaitya* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā took about a decade to attain its final form and all these years it received the munificence of the pious lady Chāṁtaśri; although the construction was done under the supervision of one named Ananda in the sixth regnal year of Vīrapurushadatta. Many other Ikshvāku princes were either Buddhists or had leanings towards Buddhism while the kings remained Hindus performing various Vedic sacrifices. The queens were responsible for the construction of innumerable Bhuddhist edifices as is evident from the recent excavations.[25] This religious tolerance and catholic outlook of the Ikshvākus resulted in the nourishment of Buddhism and Hinduism side by side under one rule.

(ii) Māṭhariputra Vīrapurushadatta

Māṭhariputra Vīrapurushadatta succeeded his father Chāṁtamūla, and ruled for about twenty-four years. Inscriptions dated in his 6th, 10th, 14th, 15th, 18th, 19th, 20th and 24th regnal years record the construction of various Buddhist monuments by royal ladies as well as the commoners.[26] Like his father he, too, had many wives. He maintained matrimonial alliances with the royal houses of Vanavāsi and the Śakas of Ujjain. He gave his daughter Kodabaliśrī to the ruler

21 H. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, Grundrissder Indo. Arischen Philogie und Altertumskunde (Strossburg, 1896), p. 46; W.W. Rockill, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 145-147; Rhys Davids, Buddhist Suttas, SBE, vol. XI, pp. 131-132.

22 C. Sivaramamurti, Amarāvati sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum 1956, Bull of the Madras Govt. Museum, New series, vol. IV.

23 T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Story of the Nations Series (London, 1903), p. 300; W. Geiger, Translation of *Mahāvaṁśa*, Pali Text Soc., Translation Series (Oxford, 1912), p. 82.

24 Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

25 Sarkar, H., Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nāgarjunakoṇḥa', *AI*, No. 16 pp. 65-84.

26 *EI*, vols. XX, p. 1 ff; *MER* 1933-34; *IAR 1954-55* p. 2; *EI*, XXI, pp.61–71; *EI*, XXXV, pp. 1-4; XXXIII, pp. 189-91; Burgess, *ASSI*, Vol. i, No. 6; p. 110 and *IAR 1967-68*, p. 52. A fragmentary Prakrit inscription in Brahmi characters of the 3rd century A.D. belonging to 24th regnal year of the Ikshvāku Vīrapurushadatta describes him as *Siripavathādhipati* and *Māṭharīputa*.

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of the Vanavāsa country. He himself married Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, the daughter of a Śaka-Kshatrapa king of Ujjain, possibly Rudrasena II (254-74 A.D.). He had two sons, Eli Ehavuladāsa and Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla, through Yakhilinikā and Khamduvulā respectively. He was probably assisted by his sons in his administration. No military achievements of this king are known.

(iii) Vāsishṭhiputra Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla

Vāsishṭhiputra Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla, the son and successor of Vīrapurushadatta ruled the kingdom for well over twenty-four years. His inscriptions are dated in his 2nd, 8th, 9th, 11th, 13th, 16th and 24th regnal years.[27] His reign witnessed the golden age of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā when the structural activities and the artistic pursuits reached their zenith. There was a phenomenal rise of Brahmanism during his reign and the cause of Śaivism was best served under his rule. Many Śaiva temples like those of Noḍagīśvarasvāmin, Pushpabhadrasvāmin and Sarvadeva too were built in his rule.

The temple of Sarvadeva, or the abode of all gods, was constructed by the commander Eliśri in the 11th regnal year of Ehuvala. Six or seven versions of the same inscription written in metrical Sanskrit, the first of their kind at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, were inscribed on pillars[28] of the temple. Prince Vīrapurushadatta erected a temple of Pushpabhadrasvāmin and an affiliated flag staff (*dhvaja staṁbha*) during the 14th regnal year of Ehuvala.[29] A permanent endowment for the upkeep of the shrine of Lord Noḍagīśvarasvāmin was bestowed.[30] The inscription on the *Dhvajastaṁbha* reads—that the *Devakula* or the temple came into existence during the rule of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla.

Similarly, Buddhism received great impetus in his reign and all the Buddhist establishments, veneered with the best sculptural representations, belonged to this period. Mahādēvī Bhaṭidevā constructed a Buddhist monastery for the teachers of the *Bhauśrutīya* sect[31] at Vijayapurī. An *upāsikā* named Chandraśri performed many religious functions in honour of the Buddha and performed pious activities in favour of Apara-mahāvina Seliyas at the Ikshvāku capital.[32] The *Stūpa* No. 9 excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā was renovated during the same regime.[33] Mahādevi Kodabaliśrī caused the construction of a monastry for the masters of the Mahiśāsaka sect.[34] A merchant by the name of the Kumāranandin installed a Buddha image (*Śailamayī-pratimā*) and engraved an inscription[35] in chaste Sanskṛit.

27 *EI*, Vols. XX, Ins. F; XXI, G2, G3; XXXV, pp. 4ff 349; *ARSIE*, 1936-37; *IAR 1958-59*, p. 6; *EI*, Vol. XX, Ins, H. p. 1 ff, XXIII, pp. 147-149; XXXV, p. 10ff; XXXIV, pp. 17-20; *JOR*, XXIX, pp. 41-59; *EI*, XXV. p.11.
28 *EI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147-49; *IAR 1956-57*, p. 36; Pl. LIV-A and Pl. IX.
29 *EI*, vol. XXXIV, pp, 17-20; *JOR*, vol. XXIX, pp. 41-59; *IAR 1956-57*, p. 36, Pl. LVIII.
30 *EI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 4ff.
31 *EI*, Vol. XX, p. 23ff, ins. GEI Vol. XXI, pp. 61-17.
32 *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 7ff.
33 *IAR, 1958-59*, p. 6.
34 *EI*, vol. XX, p. 24ff, ins. H.
35 *Ibid.*, XXXV, p. 11ff.

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Also it was during the time of Ehuvala that the Śakas influenced the Ikshvākus deeply. He married Vammabhaṭṭā daughter of Mahākshatrapa, and it was Rudrapurushadatta, their son, who succeeded Ehuvala. Hāritiputra Vīrapurushadatta, who constructed the Pushpabhadrasvāmi temple, was also a son of Ehuvala by his queen Kapanaśri. The prince possessed the titles Mahāraja Kumāra and Mahāsenapati; but it is not known whether he had any claims over the Ikshvāku throne or whether he predeceased his father. Some of the inscriptions of Ehuvala's time give the king the Śaka title *Svāmin*. A memorial inscription raised to the memory of Rudrapurushadatta's mother, mentions the names of all the predecessors by the title *Svāmin*. The inscription[36] is dated in the 11th regnal year of Vāsishṭhīputra Rudrapurushadatta.

Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla's rule, however, was not peaceful; he had to face many foreign invasions, but he was victorious all through. Thus the Sarvadeva temple inscription[37] of his times refers to an army commander Aṇikke who is said to have won victories in the battle field and attained renown (*Samaravijayīnam Khyāta Kīrteḥ*). Similarly, the memorial pillar[38] of Mahasenapati Chāṁtapūḷa, the Kuḷahaka chief, alludes to certain victories. After this period of political unrest, the Ikshvāku supremacy in the lower Kṛishṇā basin remained unquestioned for a fairly long time. The power of the Ikshvākus during this period was well established and became impregnable.

(*iv*) *Vāsishṭhīputra Rudrapurushadatta*

The Rudrapurushadatta last known Ikshvāku king, is referred to only in two inscriptions. The Gurazala inscription,[39] dated in the 4th regnal year of Rudrapurushadatta, records a land grant to God Halaṁpurasvāmin by a certain Nodu Keśri for the increase of his own life. The other inscription[40] comes from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā dated in the 11th regnal year. It records the erection of a pillar to the memory of queen Vammabhaṭṭā.

CHRONOLOGY

From the inscriptions discovered from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and in its surroundings, the following tentative chronology of the Ikshvākus can be formulated :

The Ikshvāku rulers established their kingdom in the wake of the decline of the Sātavāhana power. The rule of the last Sātavāhana king, Puloma IV, appears to have ended by 227 A.D. If this date is accepted then Ikshvāku Chāṁtamūla's accession to the throne has to be dated subsequent to 227 A.D. So far we have

36 *EI*, Vol, XXXIV, pp. 20-22.

37 *EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147-149.

38 The *prākṛit* inscription records that this is a memorial pillar (*chhāyā-staṁbha*) of Chāṁtapūḷa of the Kuḷahaka family. The elephant-rider is probably Chāṁtapūḷa himself or an attendent. vide, Sarkar and Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

39 *ARSIE*, 1936-37, vide p. 62 of Part II for identification of Halaṁpura.

40 *EI*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20-22.

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only two inscriptions[41] that refer to this ruler, Vāsishṭiputra Chāṁtamūla, as the founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty. These are dated in his 5th and 13th regnal years. These records do not help us either in fixing the duration of his rule or the starting point of his reign. However, in view of his numerous achievements that are enumerated in an inscription of his son and successor Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta, we may assign him a reign of at least a quarter of a century, and tentatively propose a period, between 227-50 A.D., as the duration of his reign. But the mention of Chāṁtamūla's death in the 20th year of Vīrapurushadatta's reign is intriguing. Does it mean that Chāṁtamūla lived upto the 20th regnal year of Vīrapurushadatta as an invalid while his son ruled as an independent king?Or is it a commemoration of the death aniversary of his illustrious father and founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty ?[42]

Vāsishṭhīputra Chāṁtamūla was succeeded by his son Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta. Since Vīrapurushadatta's last known year is his 24th regnal year he must have ruled at least for 24 years—from 250 to 274 A.D.[43] Māthariputra Vīrapurushadatta was succeeded by his able son Vāsisṭhiputra Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla. As the last known year of Ehuvala Chāṁtamūla is also dated in the 24th year of his reign, he must have died sometime about 297 A.D. Subsequently his son Rudrapurushadatta (through his Ksatrapa wife Sirivammabhaṭṭā) succeeded him to the throne of the Ikshvākus. Since the last known year of Rudrapurushadatta is in the 11th year of his reign, we may tentatively assign him a rule of eleven years i.e. upto 309 A.D.

DECLINE OF THE IKSHVĀKU DYNASTY

What happened after the rule of Rudrapurushadatta is not clear. The rising Pallava power must have swept over the lower Kṛishṇā basin sometime in the

41 The Rentala inscription dated in the 5th regnal year mentions the name of Siri Chāṁtamūla, the founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty (*EI*, XXXVII, 1967, pp. 29-32). At Kesanapalli, a village one mile from Dachapalli in Palnad taluk, in Guntur District on an *āyakastambha* of the Buddhist *Stūpa* is found an inscription running in four lines. The inscription for the first time gives the name of the king Vāsishṭiputra Chāṁtamūla and establishes the authenticity of Chāṁtamūla as the first king of the Ikshvāku dynasty. The inscription runs as under :

"Thi Putasa Siri Chāmtamūlasa Samvacharan 10, 3, Hemantana 1, Diva 1, Maharatisa game Nidigali Nigajasa Bahusutiyānam Mula Vasiviharacherika—Mahācheti ka Budhini Khambho vide Ramesan, N., *op. cit.*, *The Hindu* Sunday, March 16, 1969 I. Also vide *Epigraphia. Andhrica*, vol. I Hyderabad, 1969, pp. 146-149. Dr R. Subrahmanyam agreeing with the view of Dr O. Ramachandraiah, fixes the terminal date of Sātāvahana rule as 174 A.D. With the discovery of the Kesanapalli inscription of Chāṁtamūla, he is of the opinion that Chāṁtamūla could have started his reign from 175 A.D. onwards firstly as a feudatory and later as an independent king. (pp. 146-149).

42 Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, P. 7ff.

43 Dr R. Subrahmanyam has fixed the last year of the rule of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta in view of the 20th regnal year of the king as the last known date of his rule. But recently an inscription dated in the 24th regnal year of Māṭharīputra Vīrapurushadatta is reported to have been discovered (*IAR*, 1967-68 p. 52) where the king is styled as Srīparvatādhipati. Taking this inscription into consideration, the rule of Vīrapurushadatta has to be pushed further by four years (i.e.) from 270 A.D. to 274 A,D.

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middle of the fourth century A.D.,[44] and the Ikshvākus were possibly reduced to the position of subordinate vassals of little importance. With their fall Nāgārjunakoṇḍā was relegated to the background, and its artistic tradition along with the declining political glory of the Ikshvākus dwindled into oblivion.

A few centuries later, during the Chāḷukyan times, a few brick-built square shrines were erected in the valley but it seems that the hectic activity was shifted to Yelleswaram on the other bank of the river Kṛishṇā. As a result of the recent excavations many piligrim records and temples, datable to the Chāḷukyan period (7th to 12th cen. A.D.), have been discovered at Yelleswaram. Later the Kāk tīyas of Wārangal as the successors to the Chāḷukyas in the Kṛishnā basin had their sway over the valley and after the final defeat of their last ruler Pratāparudra II (1295-1326 A.D.) the region probably formed a part of the Delhi Sultanate.

Afterwards it was not until the 15th and the 16th centuries—when Bahmanī, Vijayānagar and Gajapatī kings were trying to establish their respective supremacies in the Kṛishṇā-Godāvārī and Kṛishṇā-Pennār doabs—that Nāgārjunakoṇḍā once again began to gain its lost importance. The literary and epigraphical documents of the time allude to the hill fort of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, probably built by the Reḍḍī kings, as one of the frontier-fortresses protecting the main strong-hold at Kondavīdu. It also served as a frontier-fortress for the Gajapatīs of Orissa. Nāgārjunakoṇḍā as the frontier citadel was under the control of Srīṛ ātharāja Siṅgarāyyā Mahāpātra (vide his inscription dated 1491 A.D.) during the rule of Purushottama Gajapatī. The Vijayānagara emperor Kṛishṇadevarāya stormed it in 1515 A.D., during his Kaliṅga *digvijaya*.

Later the fort and the valley came under the control of Quṭb-Shāhī rulers of Golkoṇḍā who ruled over entire Telangāṇa for sometime independently and later as vassals of the Mughal emperors. Finally, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley was given away as an *agrahāra* to the religious pontif of Pushpagirī Maṭh in Cuddapha district who enjoyed the land till it was engulfed by the mighty Nāgārjuna Sāgar Dam.

v. *Buddhist Sects and their Establishments in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā Valley*

An analysis of the epigraphical records[45] of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reveals that different Buddhist sects flourished in the lower Kṛishṇā valley. These were the *Therīyas, Vibhājavādins, Mahāsāgṅghikas, Mahī-Śāsakas, Bahuśrutīyas, Lokottaravādins, Mahāvihāravāsins, Aparamahāvinaseliyas*, etc. Attesting this epigraphical evidence the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā brought to light many Buddhist monasteries, generally consisting of a main *stūpa*, a *stūpa chaitya* and a Buddha *chaitya*, a row of cells on all the three sides and at times on the fourth side also (*chatuśśāla type*) with a pillared *maṇḍapa* in the centre. Many of these monasteries were named either after the Buddhist sects like *Mahī-Śāsaka, Bahuśrutīya, Aparamahāvinaseliya*, etc., or after the place from where the monks had come, as for instance,

44 Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

45 *EI*, Vols. XX, (1929-30), PP. 1-37; XXI (1931-32); PP. 61-71; XXXIII (1959-61) PP. 247-50 etc.

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Siṁhalavihāra.[46] These monastic units of different sects present to us a transitional and hence a complex picture of Buddhist ideology, form, and patterns of religious and social life. The sense of their transition and complexity heightens all the more when one considers the fact that in these monasteries there lived monks and nuns who hailed from different regions such as *Damila* (Tamil land), *Palura* (Paluara Dantapura in the Oḍra—Kaliṅga region), *Tosali* (Dhauli in Orissa), *Tambapamni* (*Siṁhala*), and provinces such as *Kaśmīra*, *Gāndhāra*, *Chīna*, *Chilāta Aparānta*, (Konkan), *Vanavāsi* (north Kannaḍa region), *Yavana* (north-western and western regions of India) and *Vaṅga* (Bengal).

It is interesting to note that the role of women in patronising Buddhism under the Ikshvākus was superb. While the kings who were staunch Hindus constructed Brahmānical temples in honour of *Sarvadeva*, *Pusphabhadra*, *Kārttikeya*, *Śiva* etc., and performed vedic scarifices their queens were responsible for the construction of many Buddhist edifices in the valley. *Upāsikās* like Bodhiśri and Candraśrī were responsible for the construction of a number of Buddhist establishments in the valley. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, amazingly enough, ninty percent of the donors were women.

vi. *Maritime activities*

While editing the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā inscriptions Vogel rightly observed that the flourishing state of Buddhism in the Āndhra valley was very largely due to the active and flourishing Indo-Roman trade of the post-Christian centuries. "The devotees of the Good Law" he says,"were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only merchants themselves but also their royal masters to raise monuments of such magnificence, at least, as the great *stūpa* of Amaravāti. At least the first half of his statement is generally true since in the *Śreṣṭhīs* and the *Sārthavāhas*—commercial communities—various crafts and trade guilds were the active patrons of the *Saṁgha*. The inscriptions refer to many donors that came from merchant communities. It is apparent, therefore, that Buddhism and Buddhist establishments of the Kṛishṇā valley in the early centuries of the christian era were reared up on a city economy that largely drew its sources from trade and commerce.

It is well known that as early as the times of Aśoka the contacts between Magadha and Ceylon were established through Buddhism. From his times onward there was a constant march of the Buddhists from Magadha to Ceylon. In fact a regular sea-borne trade existed amid the ports of Ceylon and Kantakasela (the modern Ghaṇṭaśāla in Andhra Pradesh). The hospitality and the patronage of the Āndhra monarchs attracted a large number of Buddhists who came into their contact while crossing the Āndhra domain to reach Ceylon.

The Āndhra period was one of considerable prosperity. There was trade[47] with western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt, as well as, with China, the East, and it

46 For details see Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-84.

47 R. K. Mookerji, *History of Indian Shipping and Maritime activity* (London, 1912), pp. 116 ff.

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was carried over both by land and by sea. Periplus mentions port Barigaza which was the principal distributing centre of western India. It was connected with Paiṭhan (the capital of the Āndhras) and Tagara the two inland towns of great commercial importance. Periplus also refers to many other western coast sea-port/towns such as Sopārā and Kalyāṇa. And among many other towns and ports mentioned by Ptolemy for their commercial importance Maisolia or Masulipaṭnam near the mouth of the Kṛishṇā is one. It is noteworthy that important cities and ports lay in the ancient Āndhra dominion. Evidently, all these ports and cities were inter-connected by routes that were frequented by hundreds of monks and merchants whose names can be seen recorded at Junnar, Nāsik, Kārle, Kānherī, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and many other archaeological sites. The devotees of the Faith were largely of commercial classes whose munificence enabled the erection of many magnificent monuments in the Kṛishṇā valley.

The Sātavāhana rule in the Kṛishṇā valley was supplanted by the Ikshvākus. During their reign also maritime activity continued. Their contacts with the Ceylonese were so great that we find a monastery actually built for accommodating the Siṁhala monks.

The phenomenal spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist establishments in the Kṛishṇā valley was due to the missionary zeal of Aśoka, the patronage of local rulers, the munificence of the commercial communities, who were mostly the devotees of the Faith and due to the resultant prosperity of over land and sea borne trade. As a result of this trade with the foreign countries the Kṛishṇā valley region and other parts of south India came under the impact of foreign influences.

Laid bare by the archaeologist's spade, the magnitude of the existing and extent Buddhist and other edifices at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, stand testimony to the flourshing state of Buddhism and Hinduism under the Ikshvāku rule. The excavations at this place have brought to light innumerable structures of both the Brahmānical and the Buddhist faith belonging to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. The Buddhist structures comprising *stūpas* of *śarīraka* and *uddesika* type, apsidal shrines, *Vihāras* like hill monastery, *Dharaṇi-vihāra, Kumārānandī Vihāra, Mahīśāsaka Vihāra, Bahuśrutīya Vihāra*, etc., and Brahmānical structures like the *Aṣhṭabhujasvāmī* temple, *Kārttikeya* temple, *Pushpabadrasvāmī* temple, *Devasena* temple, *Kubera* temple, and *Sarvadevā* temple have been brought out to view. Besides these, the ritualistic structures such as the *Aśvamedha* complex, burning *ghāṭ* and the secular structures like the arena, bathing *ghāṭ*, residential structures, and defence and military structures excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bespeak the height of the civilization flourishing during the Ikshvāku period.

In view of the existence of these elaborate structures of both the faiths it would be perhaps logical to assume the existence of flourishing communities of sculptors and architects organized into guilds as is evident from some of the epigraphs. Stone workers were called *selavaḍḍhakis* according to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā inscriptions.[48] Various references in these to the different trade guilds, professions, crafts, reconstructional works by the supervisors, indicate that the *selevaḍḍhakis* were also

48 *EI*, XX, pp. 22-23, Temple Inscription, F.

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organized into a guild. This fact is amply borne out by the guild marks seen on the stone slabs and reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. One such mark is that of a *ḍamaru* and another is of a bow and arrow.

The rich assemblage of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs came from these excavated monuments. Several pillars, railings, casings, copings and sculptures portraying Buddhist themes and symbols were part and parcel of these establishments. Many of these carved slabs encasing the *stūpas* bore the Jātaka stories like those of the Ghaṭa jātāka, Śibi jātaka, Māndhātu Jātaka, Mahāpaduma Jātaka, Śaśī jātaka, Daśaratha jātaka, Campeyya jātaka, Vessantara jātaka, Dighīti Kosala jātaka, etc., and many life events of the Buddha. All the major themes depicted in the sculptures were taken from Buddhist literature such as *Buddha charita*, *Saundarānanda*, *Avadāna śataka*, etc. Even the *Lalitavistara* influenced the artists considerably in the selection of appropriate themes. It is these sculptures that form the data of our study.

In construction of the *stūpas*, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā followed the same old form of the hemispherical dome resting on a low drum. But the wheel-shaped plan of the *stūpa* reached its perfection at the hands of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā architects. Another notable contribution of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā to the *stūpa* architecture is the provision of *āyaka* platforms in the four cardinal directions. Over these platforms stood five *āyaka* pillars bearing the symbolic representation of the five important events of Buddha's life namely, Birth, the Great Renunciation, the Enlightenment, First Sermon and the Extinction. However, it does not mean that the *stūpas* without *āyakas* were absent at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Another peculiar feature of the *stūpa* architecture here is the general absence of the railing. Even though the plastic representations give the complete picture of the *stūpa*, namely, the drum (*vedikā*), the dome (*aṇḍa*), the *harmikā*, the *chhatra* and the railing (*prākara*), the excavations have revealed *stūpas* without the railings also.

(vii) *Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*

The art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā requires to be studied in the context of the Āndhra School of Art. In the lower Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā valley, during 200 B.C., and 350 A.D., many Buddhist settlements came up at places like Bhaṭṭiprolu, Jaggayyāpeta, Ghaṇṭaśālā, Amarāvatī, Gummadidurru, Golī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and other cognate sites. Their style, form, technique, theme and symbolism connect all these centres into an unified integrated school known as the Āndhra School. The art of all these centres was on the same material throughout—a kind of fine grained greenish limestone—and was curved and modelled by the artists who were very familiar with Buddhist texts and legends but spiritually more in tune with the day-to-day life in the lower Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā valley.

We also know from the inscriptions that this art was financed and patronised by the members of the *Saṁgha*, the ladies of the royal families, and commercial classes who were implicit followers of Buddhism. All this means that the art was an unified integrated art from the beginning.

(viii) *Indigenous element in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art*

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art has unmistakably an indigenous element in it. The

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Ikshvākus were probably indigenous to the Kṛishṇā Valley. From an ethnic survey of the region it is known that the Chenchus still inhabit the surrounding regions of the valley along with other tribes like the Lambāḍīs. The Chenchus are presently confined mostly to the hilly country north of the river Kṛishṇā and mainly in the districts of Kurnool and Guntur in Āndhra Pradesh. From the view point of physical anthropology, says Haimendorf, "the Chenchus may be described as what Eickstedt would call 'Malid, and Guha 'Australoid.' Physically the average Chenchu man and woman is strong and well built, their evenly proportioned bodies are slim but by no means meagre. The same authority further states, "there are two clearly distinguishable types of facial features. The one is of extreme primitiveness and characterised by a low face, very steep forehead, a deep depression at the root of the nose, eyes over hung by strong supra-orbital ridges and a broad, flat nose with wide nostrils. The second definite type is more progressive and is characterised by a longer face, a stronger chin, and a more prominent nose, which is sometimes fairly narrow, and convex profile. As a rule higher stature accompanies this type.'

This description by Haimendorf, of the progressive type of the Chenchu, is well answered in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Well built, slim, and supple physiognomical forms crowd the reliefs. The figures depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs have slim, supple, long and wiry arms and legs. Evidently this physiognomical type is something different from that of Sanchi or Mathura.

The other primitive type described by Haimendorf is also frequently met with in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[49] However, at Sanchi, the human form is apparently shorter. At Mathura for example the human form is heavier though the relative elongation and proportion are the same as at Amarāvatī. The human figuration at Mathura lacks the slimness and the suppleness of men and women of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs. This is clearly characterised in the *yakshī* figures on the Bhūteśwara pillar of Mathura where the sturdy heaviness of the form is underlined by the fertility symbols, namely, the heavy busts and equally heavy and rounded hips. In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures, the busts are slighter and softer and the hips are thinner and narrower. The characteristics of the physiognomical forms of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art and those of the Chenchus are so similar that the ethnic conditioning of the art is strongly indicated. The comparison of the progressive type of Chenchu with the major physiognomical type of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa art establishes an amazing correspondence.

The maturity of art reached at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā spreads over a century. It represents the culmination of a process of an art experience and technical execution of more than three hundred years of practice of the sculptural art in the Āndhra region.

The Ikshvākus rose to power sometime in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. They were an indigenous dynasty somewhat less refined and sophisticated but, hence, equally loyal to the ideologies of both Buddism and Brahmanism.

49 Amita Ray, 'Sculptures of Nagarjunakonda', *Marg*, Vol. XVIII, Number 2, figs. 8, 12, 17, 18 20, 25, 26.

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organized into a guild. This fact is amply borne out by the guild marks seen on the stone slabs and reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. One such mark is that of a *ḍamaru* and another is of a bow and arrow.

The rich assemblage of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs came from these excavated monuments. Several pillars, railings, casings, copings and sculptures portraying Buddhist themes and symbols were part and parcel of these establishments. Many of these carved slabs encasing the *stūpas* bore the Jātaka stories like those of the Ghaṭa jātāka, Śibi jātaka, Māndhātu Jātaka, Mahāpaduma Jātaka, Śaśī jātaka, Daśaratha jātaka, Campeyya jātaka, Vessantara jātaka, Dighīti Kosala jātaka, etc., and many life events of the Buddha. All the major themes depicted in the sculptures were taken from Buddhist literature such as *Buddha charita*, *Saundarānanda*, *Avadāna śataka*, etc. Even the *Lalitavistara* influenced the artists considerably in the selection of appropriate themes. It is these sculptures that form the data of our study.

In construction of the *stūpas*, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā followed the same old form of the hemispherical dome resting on a low drum. But the wheel-shaped plan of the *stūpa* reached its perfection at the hands of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā architects. Another notable contribution of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā to the *stūpa* architecture is the provision of *āyaka* platforms in the four cardinal directions. Over these platforms stood five *āyaka* pillars bearing the symbolic representation of the five important events of Buddha's life namely, Birth, the Great Renunciation, the Enlightenment, First Sermon and the Extinction. However, it does not mean that the *stūpas* without *āyakas* were absent at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Another peculiar feature of the *stūpa* architecture here is the general absence of the railing. Even though the plastic representations give the complete picture of the *stūpa*, namely, the drum (*vedikā*), the dome (*aṇḍa*), the *harmikā*, the *chhatra* and the railing (*prākara*), the excavations have revealed *stūpas* without the railings also.

(vii) *Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā*

The art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā requires to be studied in the context of the Āndhra School of Art. In the lower Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā valley, during 200 B.C., and 350 A.D., many Buddhist settlements came up at places like Bhaṭṭiprolu, Jaggayyāpeta, Ghaṇṭaśālā, Amarāvatī, Gummadidurru, Golī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and other cognate sites. Their style, form, technique, theme and symbolism connect all these centres into an unified integrated school known as the Āndhra School. The art of all these centres was on the same material throughout—a kind of fine grained greenish limestone—and was curved and modelled by the artists who were very familiar with Buddhist texts and legends but spiritually more in tune with the day-to-day life in the lower Godāvarī-Kṛishṇā valley.

We also know from the inscriptions that this art was financed and patronised by the members of the *Saṁgha*, the ladies of the royal families, and commercial classes who were implicit followers of Buddhism. All this means that the art was an unified integrated art from the beginning.

(viii) *Indigenous element in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art*

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art has unmistakably an indigenous element in it. The

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Ikshvākus were probably indigenous to the Kṛishṇā Valley. From an ethnic survey of the region it is known that the Chenchus still inhabit the surrounding regions of the valley along with other tribes like the Lambāḍīs. The Chenchus are presently confined mostly to the hilly country north of the river Kṛishṇā and mainly in the districts of Kurnool and Guntur in Āndhra Pradesh. From the view point of physical anthropology, says Haimendorf, "the Chenchus may be described as what Eickstedt would call 'Malid, and Guha 'Australoid.' Physically the average Chenchu man and woman is strong and well built, their evenly proportioned bodies are slim but by no means meagre. The same authority further states, "there are two clearly distinguishable types of facial features. The one is of extreme primitiveness and characterised by a low face, very steep forehead, a deep depression at the root of the nose, eyes over hung by strong supra-orbital ridges and a broad, flat nose with wide nostrils. The second definite type is more progressive and is characterised by a longer face, a stronger chin, and a more prominent nose, which is sometimes fairly narrow, and convex profile. As a rule higher stature accompanies this type.'

This description by Haimendorf, of the progressive type of the Chenchu, is well answered in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Well built, slim, and supple physiognomical forms crowd the reliefs. The figures depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs have slim, supple, long and wiry arms and legs. Evidently this physiognomical type is something different from that of Sanchi or Mathura.

The other primitive type described by Haimendorf is also frequently met with in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[49] However, at Sanchi, the human form is apparently shorter. At Mathura for example the human form is heavier though the relative elongation and proportion are the same as at Amarāvatī. The human figuration at Mathura lacks the slimness and the suppleness of men and women of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs. This is clearly characterised in the *yakshī* figures on the Bhūteśwara pillar of Mathura where the sturdy heaviness of the form is underlined by the fertility symbols, namely, the heavy busts and equally heavy and rounded hips. In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures, the busts are slighter and softer and the hips are thinner and narrower. The characteristics of the physiognomical forms of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art and those of the Chenchus are so similar that the ethnic conditioning of the art is strongly indicated. The comparison of the progressive type of Chenchu with the major physiognomical type of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa art establishes an amazing correspondence.

The maturity of art reached at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā spreads over a century. It represents the culmination of a process of an art experience and technical execution of more than three hundred years of practice of the sculptural art in the Āndhra region.

The Ikshvākus rose to power sometime in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. They were an indigenous dynasty somewhat less refined and sophisticated but, hence, equally loyal to the ideologies of both Buddism and Brahmanism.

49 Amita Ray, 'Sculptures of Nagarjunakonda', *Marg*, Vol. XVIII, Number 2, figs. 8, 12, 17, 18 20, 25, 26.

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The manner and the technique that the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā artist adopted in the sculptural carvings can be visualised from an upright architectural member discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā (Pl. I). On it is to be seen an incised sketch of an entire sculptural composition. Evidently it is the first outline of the form that was in the artist's mind and which the artist wanted to bring forth from the depth of the stone. From this outline he proceeded to make out the figure by scalloping. Then he must have chiselled off the flat portions of the inner and outer areas thereby removing the unnecessary portions. After this, possibly, he further rounded off the contours of the figures in all their modelling and movement. In the final stage he smoothened the surface by softening the contours.

At its best the art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā presents to us a physiognomical form that is slender and tight, yet soft and supple, elongated, and informed with the grace and movement of vegetal nature. The art here has thrown the nature into the background but at the same time, it has informed all its forms with the lively dynamism of nature itself. Nature still serves occasionally its symbolic purpose but its fertile abundance, as one sees it in the earlier narrative art of India, has completely receded to the background. Indeed, technically and psychologically the art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā is far removed from Bharhut and Sanchi.

The Nāgārjunakoṇḍā artists had inherited all technical knowledge and skill discerned in the west Indian caves and at Mathura. This enabled the artists to bring out the figures in full rounded form from depth of the stone. They had also inherited the technical skill that gave to the reliefs a livelier contrast of light and shade. Besides, the material, namely, the lime stone which they selected for carving out the sculptures was congenial and soft to their art. Problems of perspective and depth never seem to have offered any difficulty to the Ikshvāku artist who could carve out with ease figures with three dimensional effect. This can best be seen in the *miṭhuna* couples of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. They are charmingly emotional in their poses and attitudes of dancing and caressing. The lotus medallions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā again deserve attention. Within smaller circles are arranged figures in well knit rhythmic compositions.

The best specimens among the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs are characterised by the same stylistic form, idiom, and technical efficiency that mark the reliefs of mature Amaravati works. The art of Amaravati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā belongs to a common denominator that covers a wide area. Yet the differences are considerable. The facial type at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā is round whereas at Amaravati , especially that of women, is slightly oval. The sense of facial modelling at Amaravati is expressive, and comparatively, the round faces of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā are dull and speechless in expression; but the lines that define the human frame in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art are flowing and flexible.

A close survey of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs shows two categories of art. One category has the unmistakable evidence of urban sophistication and courtly elegance as one sees at Amaravati universally. The other category is simpler and more artless.

The rich assemblage of bas-reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā present an interesting

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Plate I Sketch of the sculptural composition

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study in Hīnayāna Buddhist myths, legends, and symbols. In the early period there is a relative frequency of representation of Buddhist symbols in Āndhra art. But in the later Sātavāhana and Ikshvāku period the situation is different. We see more depictions of the *Jātaka* stories and life events of the Buddha and less of Buddhist symbols. In early Buddhism the art was narrative in character and was intended to popularise Buddhism by means of visual representation of its history, myths, and legends. Owing to the limited space and number of monuments and because of Hīnayāna influence the depiction was confined only to the symbols. But in the later period, as the number and dimensions of the Buddhist establishments grew and the older establishments were enlarged, more stories from the life of the Buddha and the *jātakas* could be introduced through visual representation than mere Buddhist symbols.

Buddhist symbols that occur at Amaravati are also represented at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The *jātaka* stories like those of *Māndhātu*, *Campeyya*, *Vessantara* also occur at Amaravati which indicates their popularity among the *jātaka* stories in the lower Kṛishṇā Valley under the suzerainty of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus.

Again in the early Amaravati period the Buddha is never introduced in an anthropomorphic form but by symbols. It is only during the rule of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus that we find the Buddha represented in a human form along with the symbols which clearly indicate the transitional phase of Buddhism as well as that of art under the Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus.

In the development of art as traced from Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Bodhgaya, Amaravati and to Nāgārjunakoṇḍā there is a noticeable change. The ornamental details become less important and the main sensuous forms are carved more rounded in continuous relationship with each other.

(ix) *Sculptural art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and its relation with earlier and later carvings*

In the development of any art the question of time and space is important. There is no doubt that the theme of the Buddhist art, its symbols, *jātakas* etc., are the same everywhere but the differences lie in their execution on stone. For instance, in Bharhut bas-reliefs there is a flat treatment of bodies. No attempt is made at depth but the contours are defined with the detailed incessions of the folds, after the pattern of jewellery, in clear forms. Thus, two dimensional view is maintained. The continuity of the narrative is not maintained by chronological connection but by the so called 'continuous environ method' which juxtaposes different episodes in the same environment even if they took place in different times. This convention of the continuous narrative method, was adopted both in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Amaravati but slightly in a different manner. Here a part of the *jātaka* story is taken up to suggest its entire theme. The space areas of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs are mainly rectangles while those of Amaravati are mostly circular. In Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures there is a certain roughness of texture, primitivism, and heaviness in contrast to the graceful, refined Amaravati sculptures.

It is true, as even a superficial glance at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs would show that the primitivism and linear surface relations of Mathura sculptures have counter-

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parts in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. But a close examination of the reliefs reveals a different chisel at work. The full bodied *yakshīs* from the Bhuteśvara pillar are strongly built women but the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā forms are physically smaller but more tender than those from Mathura.

The impact of Gāndhāra art, however, is evident in the form of the Buddha and the *Bodhisattva* figures at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Here we have representations of the Buddha, standing or seated, with the *Sanghāṭi* covering either both the shoulders or covering only the left shoulder, keeping the right one exposed.[50] In one instance, the Buddha is shown seated on a raised chair with his feet resting on a *pādapītha,* exactly in a manner seen in Gāndhāra and Mathura. In this posture the impact of Gāndhārā trend is unmistakable, too, in the manner of treatment of the regulated hanging folds of the drapery, the fully rounded face, lips, half open eyes, and the *ushṇīsha* of the Buddha depicted in the above referred sculpture is no other than that of Gāndhāra. Besides, the broad shoulders and the general heaviness of the proportions are also clearly of Mathura tradition. But the most important evidence of the impact of the art of the Hellenistic east and Rome is provided by a number of terracotta heads discovered in the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The figures of the two *Śakas* depicted on an ornate pillar[51] with their distinct ethnic and sartorial characteritics are definite proofs of such contacts.

PREMISE OF THE MATERIAL STUDY

The following study is based on the hypothesis that Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptors while depicting the *jātaka* stories in bas-reliefs, had their mind on the contemporary persons and things around them. Although they provided the figures and the backgrounds in accordance with the requirements of the texts. In carving the *jātaka* stories on stone the artists were conscious of their limitations, they had to work within certain limits showing, for the most part, only what the stories required. However, the artists have taken that much liberty as would not come into conflict with the general trend of the texts. It is just possible that they replenished the exact parallels with those occuring in the *jātakas* from amongst their society and environment. Thus many of the items found in the sculptures may have been indigenous to the land of which Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and its surrounding region formed a part.

Art, correctly interpreted, is the faithful expression of the particular social taste, ideas, and character. It preserves for us the reflections of the spirit and the manners of the people who created it. The true history of a country cannot, therefore be merely the chronological narration of political events but it also must deal with its physiognomy and the inner-most character of its past and present generations. Consequently the historian is required to inquire into the various aspects of any contemporary life such as the way of life, past times, private and public occupations, and the types of dresses in fact regarding all aspects which compose a particular culture.

50 Amita Ray, *op. cit.*, figs. 21 to 33.

51 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. X-c and d.

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In the following pages an attempt has been made to describe, in this direction, the life of the people under the Ikshvākus as depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures; this is done in order to bring out facets of some contemporary material culture. Attempt has also been made to locate contemporary plastic parallels, to corroborate the contemporary material culture with the literary descriptions, and finally, to confirm their material culture from the archaeological evidence. All sculptures recovered during the previous[52] and the recent[53] excavations have been taken into consideration for the study of the material culture of the period under review.

52 Excavations conducted by Longhurst during the years 1927-31 and by Ramachandran in the year 1938.

53 The large scale excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey under the guidance of R. Subrahmanyam and assisted by others including the present author during the years 1954-60.

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TWO

Architecture

REGAL BUILDINGS

(i) *Palaces and palace-interiors*

The sanskṛit word *prāsāda* (Pāli, *pāsāda*, Prākṛit *pāsāya*) generally denotes a palace—a pretentious building especially of several storeys.[1] When such a *prāsāda* is used by a king it is called *rāja-geha*, *rāja-bhavana*, *rāja-niveśana*, *rañño-nivesa*[2] etc. More often than not the terms referred to above seem to imply a group of buildings all enclosed by an outer wall (*prākāra*). But the word *antepura*, which is also synonymous with *pāsāda*, stands to mean a single building.[3]

The bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā abound in the representation of palace-interiors which furnish information regarding the dwelling places of the kings and the other royal personages. These regal buildings present the richest form of civil architecture of the period of which they are the creations. Generally, they were made by the best contemporary workmen and the most skilled artists.

The sculptures, however, do not reveal anywhere the external view of an entire palace. Although excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have disclosed a site which appears to reveal the remains of such a palace.[4] From this site five ornate pillars were unearthed which probably supported the wooden roof of the royal hall.[5] It is possible that the royal palace had several such halls of different dimensions as it would appear from the depiction of several palace-interiors in the sculptures.

The palace buildings must have been built on a solid foundation or basement (*vatthu*)[6] and either on the ground or on the basement stood the pillars (*thaṃbhas*) of

1 Elsewhere it means a monastery or temple. Early references to *pāsāda* as temple include *Śaṅk Śr. Sū.*, 16, 18, 13-17; Patañjali, 2, 2, 34; *Pancatantra*, Bk. 1, Story 1,27 ff; For later *prāsāda* temples see *Matsya Purāṇa*, Chs. 267, 268; *Mhv.*, LXXII, 244; *Vism.*, 41; and *Cull.*, VI, 14, 1.

2 *J.*, VI, 412; *J.*, VI, 456; IV, 182; VI, 428, 432, 455; *J.*, VI, 428, 429.

3 *D.N.*, 11, 174, 11, 128 etc., *J.*, VI, 455, 456; Quoted from Coomaraswamy, A.K., 'Early Indian Architecture' III. Palaces, *Eastern Art* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 181.

4 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

6 *D.N.*, 11, 181; cf. *Vatthaka*, basement, in *Cull.*, VI, 3, 6.

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the lower palace. In a *pāsāda*, the pillar (*thaṃbha*) is a strong support to the rest of the construction.[7] For as Prof. Gwilt, an authority on architecture, remarks that "the column in a building is the regulator of the whole composition. The proper understanding and application of it constitute the foundation of all excellence in art."[8] In the art of building, conception of the pillar seems to be older than the dwelling itself.[9]

In a palace, the ground floor (*āditala*) appears to have had a number of pillars (*thūṇa* or Skt'. *sthūṇa*), their number varied with the magnificence of the structure and the number of storeys to be supported. Since none of the reliefs illustrate a complete exterior view of the palace it becomes difficult to visualize the number of storeys it had. In literature, palaces with many storeys (*bhūmika, tala, niyyūha*) are referred to copiously starting from *eka-bhūmika, dvi-bhūmika, ti-bhūmika* and so on upto *nava-bhūmika*.[10] The *Mahāvaṁsa* speaks of a mansion with innumerable storeys (*āneka-bhūmi*).[11] However, the palace can be divided into two parts—the *heṭṭha-pāsāda* (or lower palace) and the *upari-pāsāda* (or upper palace) approachable by means of stairs (*sopāna*).[12] The lower palace consisted of court halls, stables, etc. The *Dīgha Nikāya (11,174)* mentions that the court halls were close to the door of the palace on the ground floor within the reach of the public and affording easy accessibility.[13] The upper palace (*upari-pāsāda*) contained living appartments such as king's private chambers or harems (*antepuras*). The reliefs mostly depict palace-interiors, illustrating the court scenes and the private chamber of the king. In all probability, the panels portraying court scenes depict *heṭṭha-pāsāda* with *āditala*, and others that reveal living chambers of the kings, illustrate *upari-pāsāda*.[14]

That the roofs of the regal buildings were supported by pillars can be made out from the number of pillars supporting the palace-interiors as shown in sculptures, and the innumerable pillared halls excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[15] The pillars generally comprise polygonal shafts with a base and a capital. The base and capital are of two portions; one bulbous with circular section and the other stepped and with square section. In the case of free-standing pillars, the stepped upper part of the capital is surmounted by animals or symbols. The sculptures portraying *stūpa* architecture illustrate such free-standing octagonal pillars in front of the entrances to the

7 In *DhSA.*, 107, the constructional elements of a palace are listed. A *prāsāda* is always spoken of as supported by pillars (*thūṇa, thambha*, skr; *sthūṇa, stambha*).

8 *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, 2, 538.

9 Acharya, P.K., 'Indian Columns', *Rūpam*, No. 11, July, 1922, p. 86.

10 *J.*, 1, 58, 89, 304; IV, 105, 378, 379; VI., 382; *DhA.*, 1,239; *Mhv.*, XXVII, 4, 15, 25.

11 *Mhv.*, XLVIII, 136.

12 *J.*, 1, 175, 348.

13 *J.*, 111, 456.

14 Bāṇa refers to *Vāsabhavana*, which in the palace of Harṣa was located on the upper floor. It was a private chamber (V.S. Agravala, *Harṣa carita*, p. 208).

15 Cf. in this connection the evidence of 84 thousand pillared palace of Righteousness in *DN.*, 11, 181; Thousand pillared *Lohapāsāda* at Anurādhāpura and the other *Ratna pāsāda* built in 3rd Cent. A.D. at the same place may be recalled.

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stūpas.[16] Some of the *āyaka* pillars of the *stūpa* at times even contained inscriptions as evidenced in the *Mahācaitya* excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Again from the recent excavations,[17] an inscribed *dhvaja staṁbha* or flag-staff comes from Pushpabhadra-svāmī temple.

Apart from this religious use the octagonal pillars were also used in secular buildings and in the pillared halls etc. The *jātakas* too refer to well-cut octagonal columns (*aṭṭhaṁsā sukatā thaṃbhā*) profusely.[18] Speaking about the pillars Fergusson declares "whatever their distinction, they were always, the most original and frequently the most elegant projections of Indian Art".[19]

The panel illustrating the *Ghaṭa jātaka*[20] *(Pl. II)* reveals, if taken according to the context of the story, one pillared house of the princess Devagabbā. But as it is, it may also represent a square hall as well. Such one-pillared houses are not impracticable—both in the literature and architecture. The *jātakas* refer to such one pillared house as *Ekatthūṇaka* and *Ekatthambhaka pāsāda*.[21] They are considered to be rare and unique in contrast to the palace supported by many pillars (*bahu-thambhaka*) on account of their relative inaccessibility and as a place of special security. In the Jaina story of Udayana a merchant has a pleasure palace of this sort (*Ekka-thambham pāsāyaṁ*).[22] We can see a temple of this kind still standing in Hanoi.[23]

In another sculpture,[24] a palace building with domical and vaulted roofs, all within an enclosure, is represented. This combination must have afforded a very attractive and imposing view to the onlookers. Of these domical and vaulted roofs, evidently, the latter appear to be the most favoured ones for royal buildings during the Ikshvāku period. This is evident from their frequent sculptural depiction of the period.

The palace buildings were probably located in the middle of the vast area enclosed with walls, on all sides, and gates or entrances at intervals.[25] Within the palace enclosure there were beautiful gardens with cosy seats for respite. Many panels reveal compound walls behind which can be discerned well-cultivated trees.[26]

16 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, Pls. XI-d; XI-c; XI-b; *ASIA*, (1928-29) Pl. II-B etc.

17 *IA-R* for the year 1956-57, Pl. LVIII. Such free-standing pillars occur in all styles-Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina of Indian architecture. The Buddhist employed them to bear inscriptions, emblems or animals. The Jains built *dīpa-stambhas* or lamp-bearing pillars. The *Vaiṣṇavites* raised *Garuḍa-staṃbhas* or pillars bearing *garuḍa* bird and the Śaivites, as stated above, built *dhvaja-staṁbhas* or flag-staffs. We do also get references to other kind of free-standing pillars like *Māna-staṃbha, Raṇa-staṃbha, Kīrti-staṃbha* etc. see *Acharya, op. cit.*, p. 86. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā we also get *chhāyākhambha* or memorial pillars from the excavations.

18 J, VI, 173.

19 J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1910), p. 50.

20 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-a.

21 *J.*, I, 441; IV. 79; IV, 153.

22 Jacobi, H., *Ausgewahlte Erzahlungen*, p. 28, Quoted from Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

23 *Ibid.*, fig. 36.

24 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV.

25 *J.*, IV, 228; V., 213 etc.

26 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. Xlvi-a; XIII-a; XXX-c etc.

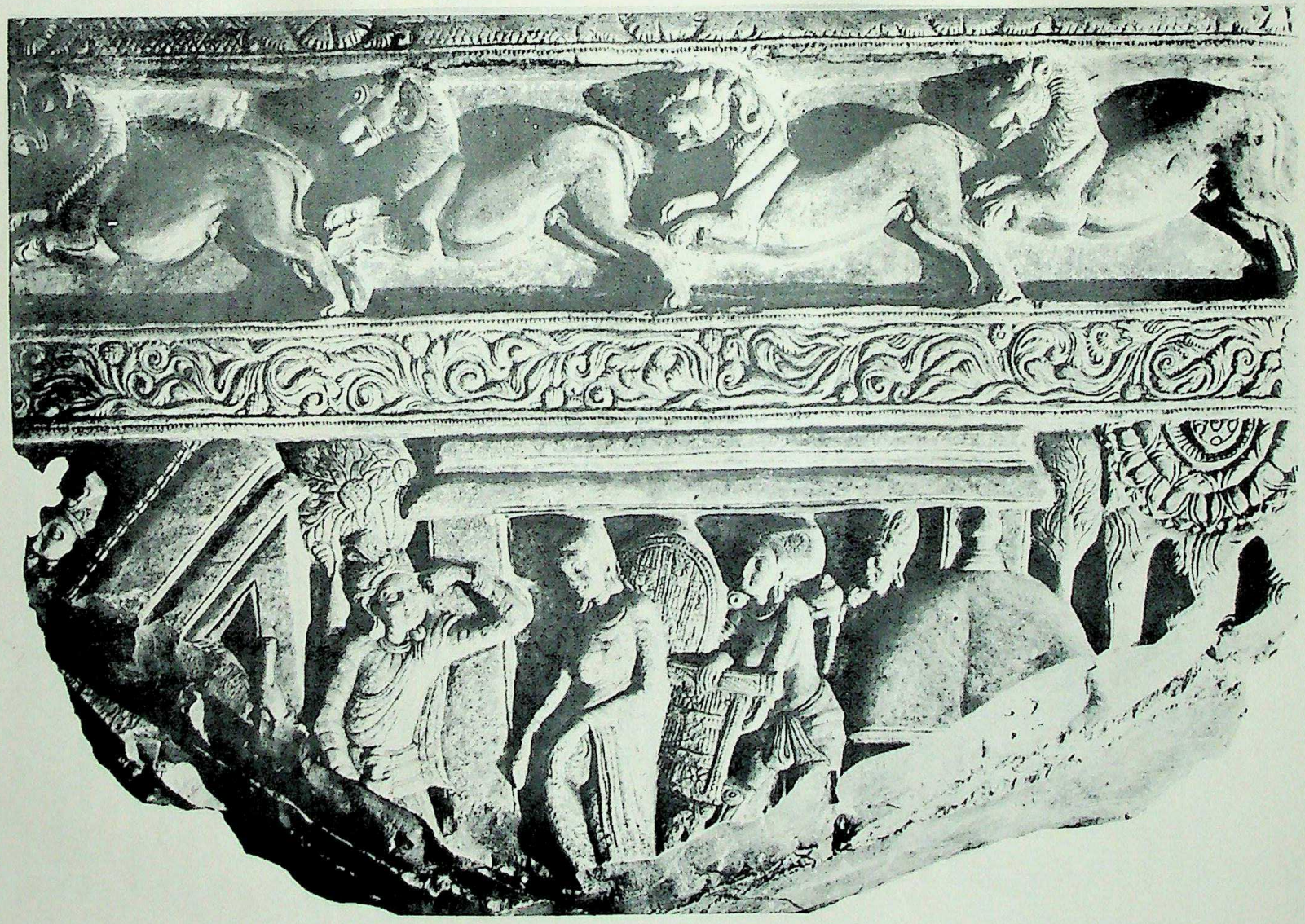

Plate II Ghata Jataka

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(ii) *Court-halls or Judgment-halls : Vinicchaya-ṭṭhāṇa*

The bas-reliefs abound in depiction of the palace-interiors of which many are court halls or judgment halls according to the context of the story. The panels[27] revealing 'casting of the horoscope,' 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana,' Śibi jātaka, 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow,' unidentified sculpture, 'the lady Amara and the Four Wise Men,' 'Caṁpeyya jātaka' illustrate several court scenes of different kings. Thus we get panel representations of court halls of kings—Śuddhodana, Śibi, Daśaratha, Dighīti, King of Banaras etc. In a *pāsāda* one could reach the court hall passing through the main-gate and entering the *rājāṅgaṇa.*[28]

That the serenity, decency, and decorum of the court was strictly adhered to during the Ikshvāku period can be known from the court scenes depicted in the reliefs. The sculptor, while portraying the court scenes, has seen to it that nowhere any nude or indecent figures are introduced in the panels. The ministers and all other illustrated persons are in their befitting costumes.

(iii) *King's private chamber : antepura*

The word *antepura* literally meaning "inner town" and generally applied to the king's palace as a whole.[29] But elsewhere, the *antepura, rāja-niveśana*, and *rāja-bhavana* also denote a king's living quarters.[30] In these, the king is seen attended upon entirely by women. Literary references to the presence of such women—queens, and other ladies—collectively, as *antepurikā* (*The nāri-vara-gaṇa)* are not uncommon.[31]

The sculptures reveal several such *antepuras.*[32] In a *pāsāda*, these *harems* were located on the upper floors,[33] perhaps with a view to maintain privacy, in which case the reliefs portraying the king's living apartments illustrate *upari-pāsādas.* Since only the interiors of the palaces are shown, the depiction of the stair-cases by means of which *upari-pāsāda* could be reached, have been relegated to background. But in any case, the absence of the stairs does not mean that they were absent. Even in the Amaravati sculptures, where storeys of the palace are depicted, the stair-cases by which they are to be reached are not shown.

In the king's private chambers—the *chourī*-bearers, ladies holding baskets and pots probably containing food and drinks, musicians and dancers who presented gay and merry performances—all have been represented almost half-nude, and in easy-going postures heralding that it is a private chamber (harem) where, except the king,

27 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XX-a; XXI-a; XLII-a; XLV-a; XLVII-a; XXXII-a; XXXVI-b; XXXVIII-a; XXXVIII-b etc.

28 *J.*, 111, 456.

29 *D.N.*, 11, 174; 11, 125 etc.

30 *J.*, VI, 455, 456.

31 *DhA.*, 403, J., VI, 121.

32 Longhurst, *op. cit.* Pls. XXVI-C; XXXa; XXXIII-C; XL-a; XLIII-a; XLVIII-a etc. and Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-B.

33 *J.*, 111, 122-5. The texts do not speak of entering or leaving the palace but always of going up into or coming down from it (*J.*, 1, 61, 179, 348, 351; 111; 239; IV; 105, 125, 130, 215; V, 64 etc. and this means going upstairs to or downwards from the upper floors.

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no other male could have access. That privacy was observed by the ladies of the Ikshvāku period is once again attested to by the usage of the curtains (*chakkalikā* or *bhisi*).[34] The one that is represented in the panel[35] 'Nativity and seven steps' appears to be a moveable curtain *saṁsaraṇa* or *ugghaṭaṇakitikā*. Buddhagosha also refers to such moveable curtains in his commentary on the *Cullavagga*.[36]

The *harems* depicted in the reliefs are shown guarded by females or amazons for which reason they are also called *ārakkha-ṭṭhāṇa*[37] (guarded quarters). In literature, references are in plenty to show that both male and female guards were posted at the *antepuras*. The *jātakas* speak of the practice of appointing male guards (*antepura-pālakas*) at the doors of the harem.[38] The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya informs that amazons were appointed in the time of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta.[39] During the Ikshvāku period, as can be seen from the sculptures, the Mauryan practice of posting females or amazons at the harems appears to have continued.

The depicted palace-interiors, whether they are court halls or *harems*, are all capacious and spacious. The palace attendants, the *chourī*-bearers, musicians, dancers, and persons holding cornucopia depicted in the sculptures illustrate in no small measure the rich royal life during the Ikshvāku period. The *pratihārī*, an amazon, with a huge sword dangling by means of a strap from her left hip depicted in sculptures from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā as well as in the Amaravati reliefs can be seen in the *pratihārī* as described by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī*.[40] However, she is to be distinguished from the sword-bearer (*khaḍgavāhinī*), a female personal attendant of the king, mentioned by Bāṇa in the same work.[41] Thus the sculptural presentation corroborates the literary description.

The singing, dancing, and other entertainment scenes in royal halls while attesting to the commodiousness of the halls of the royal palaces tangentially throw light on the magnificence of these halls and the cultural life at the royal courts of the Ikshvākus. The palace-interiors are shown luxurious and ornate with pillars supporting the roofs. In the panel[42] depicting 'Asitas visit to Śuddhodana,' the scene is laid in a palace-interior where, in the corner of the hall, a pillar with a capital consisting of square abacus of four plates diminishing in size and placed over a fluted *kalaśa* or pot can be made out (*Fig. II, 1*). In literature, too references to such ornate pillars are many. In fact the *Saundarānandakāvya* speaks of a pillar of gold.[43] Similarly the *Buddhacarita*

34 Various kinds of curtains or blinds known as *chakkalikā* or *bhisi* can be seen in Amaravati sculptures vide Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.* p. 132.

35 Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XX-b.

36 *Cull.*, VI, 3, 5.

37 *J.*, V, 374.

38 *J.*, VI, 455.

39 R. Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (Mysore, 1951), p. 41.

40 *Kādambarī* by Bāṇa with the commentary of Bhānuchandra and Siddhachandra (Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1912), p. 8.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

42 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a.

43 *Saundarānandakāvya*, 1. 19.

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mentions an iron pillar.[44] Again, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, while describing the pillars supporting the palace, Vālmīki says that they are all golden, well executed, and decorated with *īhāmṛgas*.[45] All these evidently reflect the fair conception of the rich and luxuriant palaces in the ancient days.

(iv) *Gates, Compound-walls and Doorways*

The city-gate[46] was known as *dvāragopura*. Before the gateway was the gate-house (*dvāra-Koṭṭhaka, dalha-gopura, dalham-aṭṭāla-koṭṭha, dalha-gopura-aṭṭālakoṭṭha*[47] with its high towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka, gopura-aṭṭālaka*),[48] flanked on two sides by the city wall (*prākāra*) spread out to surround the royal residences. Each city in which the royal residence was situated was surrounded by an outer wall (*prākāra*) having four gates on four sides.[49] Thus the cities of Rājagṛha and Śrāvastī each had four gates, one each on one side.[50] There is an elaborate description of the gateway in the *Arthaśāstra* which is also met with in the early Pāli texts and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. That the Ikshvāku cities had also *prākāra* walls and gates can be known from the excavated remains,[51] although no scuplptural depiction of the same is to be seen. Perhaps this may be due to the fact that since no exterior view of the palace is depicted, the representation of the *prākāra* wall was not considered necessary. The *prākāra* being nowhere shown in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs, the absence of the *parikhā* can be understood.

The gates that are illustrated in the bas-reliefs are simple. The one that is depicted in the panel[52] representing 'a king denouncing Brahmanism,' comprise two wooden pillars surmounted by a solid super-structure with eaves on all sides. Though in this instance, the two pillars are visible, it is obvious that there were two other pillars behind those that are illustrated. The rectangular structure surmounting the pillars perhaps represents a terrace with parapet walls on four sides (*Fig. II*, 2). As an adjunct to this gateway can be seen a compound wall—probably built of large bricks.

44 *Buddhacarita*, 1. 19.

45 *Rāmāyana*, V, IX, 13. See also Sivaramamurti, c., 'Some Architectural passages in the Ramayana', *JOR*, XIII, 2 (Madras, 1939), p. 96. These mythical animals and the animals of fancy *Thāmṛgas* or *Vyālas* were used as architectural motifs in the early sculptures.

46 For illustrations of the city gates and gate houses in ancient India as depicted in the early Indian reliefs see—Coomaraswamy, Early Indian Architecture, Eastern Art, Vol. II (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 201-205 fig. 1-17.

47 *Cull.*, VI, 21, 2 & J. IV, 20.

48 *Mālatīmādhava*, IX, 1.

49 *J.*, IV, 229; V, 213 etc.; *Raghuvaṁsa*, 1.30; XII. 66. *Śākuntala*, 11. 15.

50 *B.C.* Law, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, MASI, No. 50, Delhi, 1935, p. 21; S. Beals, *Buddhist Records of the western world*, 1 (London 1883), (Oxford, 1924) p. XIII, V, 11, p.4. *Dhammapada Commentary* (111, p. 380). The city Pāṭaliputra had 64 gates and a *prākāra* wall running to a length of 25 miles, Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 35; V.A. Smith, *Early History* of India, p. 119; cf. Mitra, Rajendralal, *Indo-Aryan*, vol 1 (Calcutta 1881), pp. 44-45: McCrindle, *Strabo*, XV-36.

51 *IAR, 1957-58*, p. 5f and fig. 4 in page 7.

52 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, P1. XXX-c.

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Again, the panel[53] illustrating 'the Māndhātu jātaka' offers a gateway in a different form. Here the whole gateway appears to represent a brick-built structure with high-walls and a vaulted roof surmounting them. The gable-ends of the vaulted roofs are flanked with decorative *chaitya* windows (*Kapotapālikas*) (*Fig. II, 3*). This form of the gateways seems to be the most favoured one during the Iksvāku period, as evidenced by their frequent sculptural depictions. The panels representing 'king Kappina's Conversion',[54] and the other gateway[55] reveal similar structures. Sometimes the face of the super-structure of the gateways was embellished with the lotus-flower design or with circlets as shown in some panels[56] that portray the 'Daśaratha jātaka' and the 'conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka,' (*Fig. II, 4*).

The gates in the contemporary villages and hermitages were the simplest, and consisted of two wooden pillars with a cross–beam mounting. The panels representing 'Mahāpaduma jātaka',[57] and a village scene reveal the gates of the aforesaid variety (*Fig. II, 5*). At Goli also similar gateway is depicted in the panel representing the 'Veśśantara jātaka'.[58]

The panel[59] illustrating 'Ghaṭa jātaka' reveals the doorway of a one-pillared house with a guard. It is a solid brick structure of high walls surmounted by vaulted roofs with eaves on all sides. As usual, the roofing is decorated with a *chaitya* window while the apex contains a row of circlet design.

Two panels[60] revealing palace-interiors have arched doorways (*Fig. II, 6*). They comprise two pillars with an arch connecting them at the apex .One that is represented in the panel depicting 'Chandaka's *nivedana* to Siddhārtha' (Ramachandran pl. XXX-a) is decorated with creeper or floral designs. That the palace apartments were provided with doors and posted guards (*dovārikas*) is known from the contemporary literature.[61]

The *stūpas* had-free-standing pillars at the entrances as depicted in the sculptures revealing the *stūpa* architecture.[62] These free-standing pillars served an ornamental purpose and had no defence value but were no doubtmeant to add dignity to a place.

HOUSES OF THE WEALTHY CLASS

Information offered by the bas-reliefs regarding the houses of the wealthy class is

53 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-b.

54 *Ibid.*, pl. L-a.

55 *Indian Archaeology—A Review, 1957-58*, pl. VI-b.

56 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-a; XLIX-b.

57 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-b, Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, XXX-B.

58 T.N. Ramachandran, Buddhist Sculptures from a stupa near Goli, *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* (Madras, 1929), pl. IV-E, F.

59 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-a.

60 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-B; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. XXX-A.

61 *DHA.*, 1, 221, and *J*, 1, 61, 62; *JVI*, 200.

62 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XI-c.

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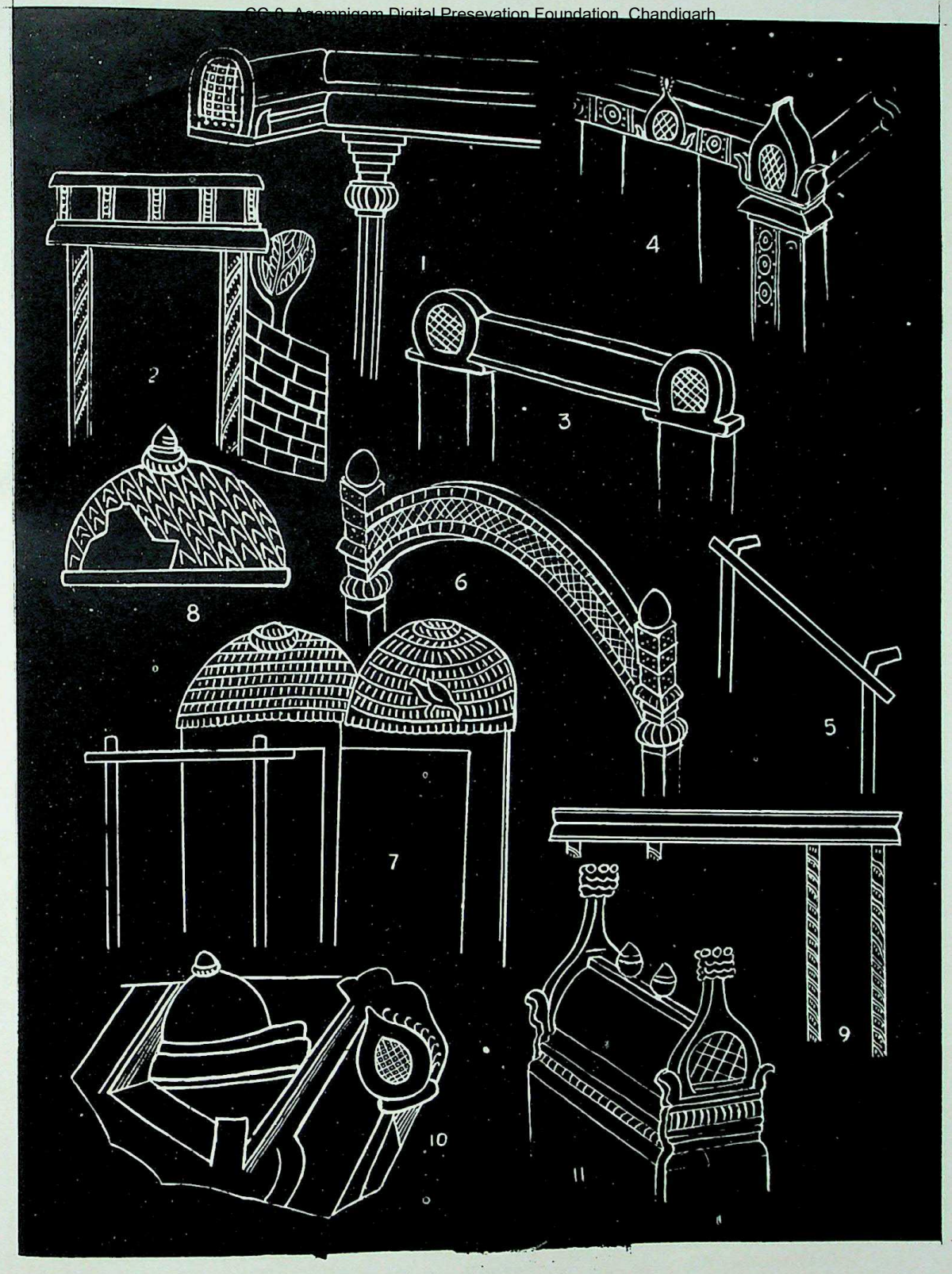

Fig. II Architecture

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meagre. There is only one instance of the same the panel representing 'the gift of earth'[63] (PL. XX.). It depicts, according to the context of the story, a specimen of a house of a well-to-do citizen. This house, with an oblong ground plan, is superimposed by a vaulted roof that in turn is flanked by a decorative horse-shoe frame with a *kīrtimukha* at the gable-ends. The roof has double eaves (*avaśaraka*),[64] and at intervals oval-shaped *kalaśas* surmount the horizontal apex bar of the roof thereby adding grandeur to the building. The walls are plain and reveal no windows (*gavākshas* or *vātāyanas*). However, it does not mean that the windows were not provided to such buildings. Indubitably the houses of the ordinary people were provided with windows for ventilation. This facts is corroborated in the sculptural representations of the contemporary Amaravati sculptures.[65] In bas-reliefs, from Goli the huts of the poor, the mansions of the royalty, and houses with tiled roofs probably belonging to the higher, middle, or merchant class are depicted. However, the sculptural representation of such houses, with tiled roofs, is absent in the bas-reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Amaravati.

DWELLINGS OF THE COMMONALTY

Bas-reliefs offer scanty depictions of the dwelling places of the common people. The reasons for the meagre representation of the houses, of the common people, in sculpture may, perhaps, be explained by the possibility that the sculptor had only the urban life in his mind. He depicted only palace-interiors, city-gates, gateways etc., illustrating the refined form of civil architecture, all of urban type, keeping himself purblind to the rural or the contemporary pastoral life of the people. In contrast similar representations from Vedic period depict a vivid picture of the pastoral life without any mention of the cities anywhere. For there was no conception of a city or a city life until the advent of the Buddha in the 5th century B.C. By the time the Ikshvākus were at the height of their glory, many cities had sprung up, which gave the sculptor the knowledge of the highly developed architecture. This in turn was transmitted into their meticulous lithographic delineations.

(*i*) *Huts*

Huts are depicted more than once in these bas-reliefs. Also in the panel depicting the 'Mahāpaduma jātaka'[66] (Pl. III) a hermitage is represented. Its domical

63 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-b.

64 *Osaraka* (Pāli) (that which sheds water) : overhanging eaves (of a building without varandas) : *Osaraka Cullavagga*, VI, 3.5 glossed as *Chandana-pamukham* "projecting from the roof". *Osaraka* "under the eaves" *J.*, 111, 446; vide also Coomaraswamy. A. K., 'Indian Architectural Terms,' *JAOS*, vol. 48, pp. 250-270.

65 The windows commonly carved in Amarāvatī sculptures are the *turigavātāyanas* described in Mālatīmādhava—a tall rectangular frame work topped by arch. It is the same as the *mahāvātāpana* illustrated by Coomaraswamy, (7, pl. XCVI, fig. 17); Early Indian Architecture, iii palaces pp. 181-217, vol. III. *Eastern Art*, 1931.

66 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-b, *Jātaka*, No. 422.

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roof"[67] closely resembles those carved in the early Bharhut, Sanchi and Gāndhāra reliefs. The presentation of the hut under discussion offers a realistic picture of an unpretensious lodge of a hermit. It has no door; presumably it was a detachable type and used only when necessary. Similar door types exist to this day among the primitive tribes like the Chenchus and the Lambadis inhabiting the Krishṇā valley. The gateway revealed in this relief probably marks the boundary of the hermitage.[68] It consists of two pillars of rectangular sections and a cross bar mounted on the top. The monkey slinging on the cross-bar and the cultivated trees in the background enhance the realism of the environs to the hermitage. At Goli,[69] more or less a similar example of a gate is to be seen in front of a hut. It is shown in a panel representing the *Vessantara jātaka*.

More information about humble dwellings can be culled from the panel depicting a village scene[70] (*Fig. II, 7*). A cluster of huts with a simple gateway at the boundary gives a fair idea of a humbler dwelling in a village. Here, two huts with domical roofs are shown. A bird is shown perching on the roof of a hut which adds a realistic touch to the carving. The hut walls appear to be of plastered mud mortar. In the *Cullavagga* (*VI. 3*) and in other *Vinaya* texts (3.170-172) we do get references to similar walls that were white-washed. The doors are, as usual, detachable ones. These huts probably represent dwellings of ordinary persons of extremely low rank or non-affluent workmen. The panel also depicts a leaf hut (*parṇaśālā*)[71] with domical roof (*Fig. II, 8*). The roof appears to have been made of palm leaves. This seems to be a proto-type of the modern Chenchu dwellings at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[72] At Goli,[73] a sculpture of contemporary period representing the Vessantara jātaka gives a fine example of a *parṇaśālā*. It has a circular ground plan with somewhat conical tiered roof which is crowned at the apex with a finial, probably made of wood. The walls, probably, were of split bamboos pleated horizontally and vertically. A window is also provided. In this case, too, the roof has a final. Similar closer parallels can be had in the Amaravati reliefs.[74]

However, two types of humble dwellings—(i) huts resembling *koṣṭhas* with square ground plans and curvilinear roofs which in turn invariably contained a finial with flanges and, (ii) huts of circular plans with hemispherical roofs, with or without

67 The huts with their curved roofs resemble the dwellings referred to in the *Mudrārākshasa*, iii, 15.

68 Elsewhere a panel depicting a village scene represents a similar gateway—vide Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

69 Ramachandran, (Goli), *op. cit.*, pl. VI-E-F.

70 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

71 The poet Kālidāsa speaks of uṭajas or leaf huts which had spacious *aṅgaṇas* or courtyards (*Raghuvaṁśam*, 1.52)

72 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. iii-b.

73 Ramachandran, (Goli Sculptures), *op. cit.*, pl. VI-F. cf; A. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*; (Varanasi, 1962), Pls. XLVIII, fig. 7; XXVI, fig. 3 and XLVI, fig. 4 and *J.* Marshall and A. Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. II (Calcutta, 1940), Plate LXVa, LIIa.

74 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, fig. 14 and pl. LXVIII, fig. 5.

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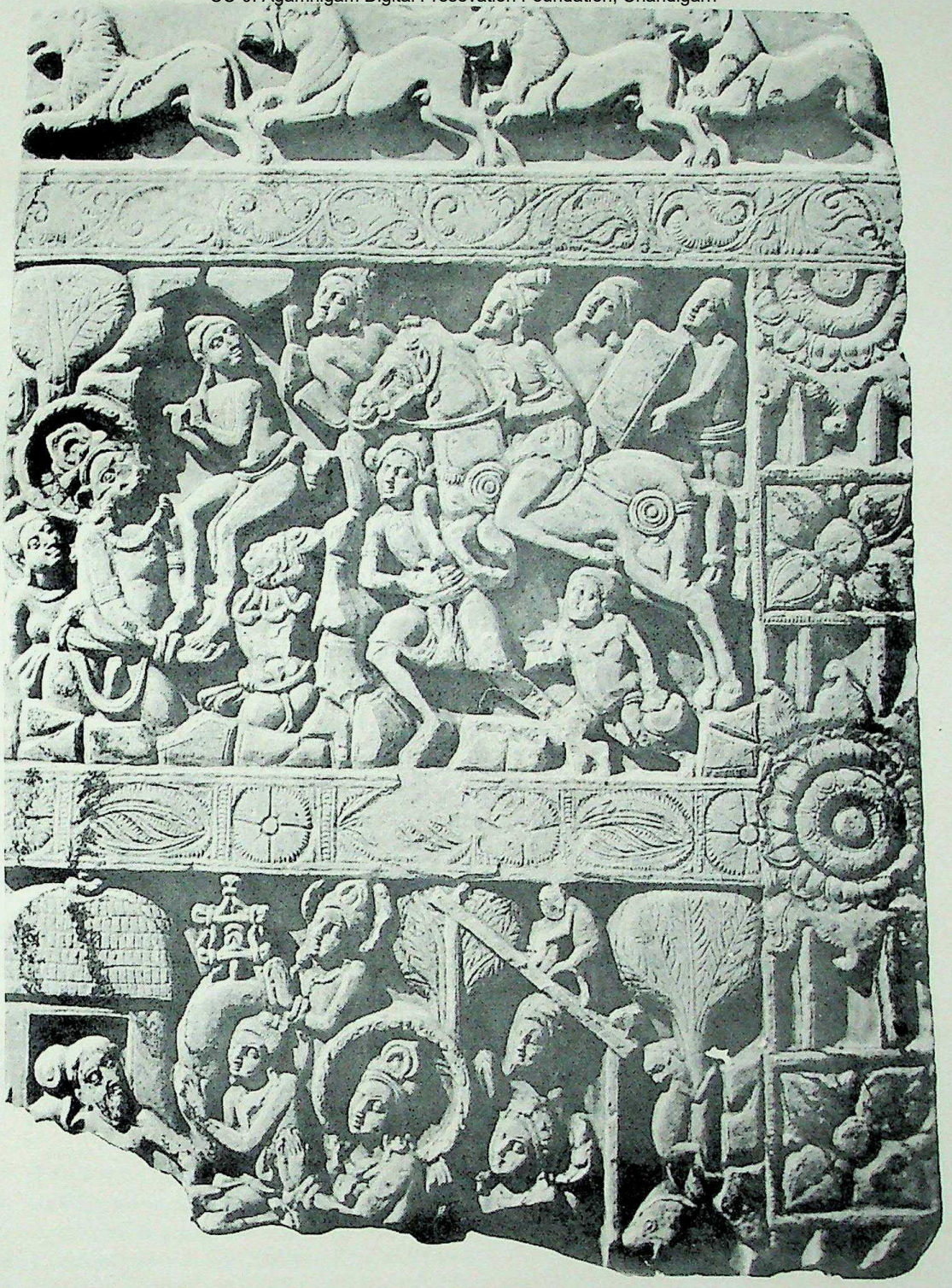

Plate III Maha Paduma Jataka

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finials are discernible in the bas-reliefs. From frequent depiction of dome roofed huts it can be inferred that the people of the Ikshvāku period very much favoured the constructional technique of domed roofs for their humbler dwellings.

The Amaravati reliefs offer one more type[75] of a humbler dwelling. It resembles a *śālā* with rectangular ground plan and barrel roof which is devoid of any finials. Sivaramamurti rightly presumes that some of the *kūṭāgāras*[76] may have had similar form with the addition of the horse-shoe windows and finals and hence such huts are designated in literature as *kuṭīs*.

As can be seen, the humble dwellings depicted in the sculptures are of single cells. Invariably, the *jātakas* mention single cells made of leaves and *kuśa* (grass). From these representations it can be deduced that the common residence of the poor section of the people consisted of a wattle and daub hut: Its roof was made of thatch and its walls were either of tree branches or grass. That the people in villages lived in similar huts gets sculptural corroboration in a panel where a village scene is depicted. Incidentally, it gives some idea of the village plan – with its row of huts (*kuṭīs*), courtyards (*ajira*), gateways at the boundaries etc., in the Ikshvāku period.

In some of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā epigraphs terms like *gāma-pañchaka*) or Skt. *grāma-Pañchaka*, meaning a group of five villages occur. It may be that in the incipient stage the *grāma* consisted of a small group of huts, and probably, five such small hut establishments grouped together have been mentioned in the epigraphical records[77] as *gāma-pa(chaka)* or *grāma-pañchaka*. This small hut establishment, which stands to mean a village, gets sculptural corroboration more than once in the reliefs.

ARCHITECTURAL PECULIARITIES

(i) *Roofs*

The roofs of the buildings, both secular and religious, represented in the sculptures are varied and interesting. The bas-reliefs offer three types of roofs, namely, domical, vaulted and flat. One gets fine examples of dome-roofed buildings in the panels representing the *jātaka* stories[78] such as *Śaśī*, *Mahāpaduma* and *Ghaṭa jātaka*. Of these, the panel depicting the Ghaṭa jātaka, wherein is revealed a one pillared house, *Ekatthambha*-Pāsāda[79] of the princess Devagabbhā having a domical roof is of special interest.

In another panel that reveals a village scene[80] carved domed roofs are shown over the huts of the common people. Similarly at Goli panels, illustrating Vessantara jātakas exemplify a tiered domical roof with a pinnacle.[81]

The buildings with vaulted roofs are depicted quite frequently in the reliefs.

75 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, fig. 18a, pl. XIVIII, fig. 2.

76 *JAOS*, Vol. 48, pp. 250-275.

77 *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV, p. 210, inscription line 3.

78 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XVIII-b; XLV-b; XLVI-c.

79 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-a.

80 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A (Nāgārjunakoṇḍā).

81 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-A and Goli Sculptures, pl. VI-F.

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Many panels portraying the scenes from the life of the Buddha,[82] such as 'gift of the earth,' 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana', 'Chandaka's *nivedana* of Siddhārtha's *Abhinishkramaṇa*' and Jātaka stories[83] like Māndhātu, Daśaratha and Dighīti Kosala Jātaka contain buildings with vaulted roof. Regarding flat roofed buildings, a solitary illustration comes from the panel depicting the Māndhātu Jātaka wherein a pavilion supported by pillars has a flat roof.[84] (Fig. II, 9).

Of these, the domical and vaulted roofs are depicted frequently in the sculptures, perhaps, for being the most favoured forms for roofings in those days. Palaces have both domical and vaulted roofs. Both examples occur in a panel depicting the 'Ceremonial' use of *Pūrṇaghata* (*Fig. II, 10*). The style of the roof follows the necessities of the plan of the structure: in case of a building with circular ground plan, evidently, the domical roof is provided; while buildings with oblong ground plans possess vaulted roofs. In all probability, domical roofs were constructed over smaller rooms and halls, while vaulted roofs capped the larger ones in a palace complex.

The humbler dwellings of the poor had dome roof. It appears that domed roofs were mostly favoured for humbler dwellings during the Ikshvāku period. In the case of leaf huts, as seen in the panel depicting a village scene,[86] palm tree leaves seem to be the most commonly used roofing material. These were worked in patterns on bamboo and reed frameworks, which is the usual technique employed in such cases.

The dome roofs were supported by 'uprights' or straight pillars (*upamit*), probably of wood. The barrel or vaulted roofs with sloping (*valabhī*) sides, in all probability, appear to have been supported by curved rafters (*gopānasi*). It is evident from the sculptures, that the vaulted roofs are provided with eaves (*avasaraka*) with a view to protect the walls of the buildings from rain. Incidentally, this would reflect on the engineering knowledge of the authors of the buildings. In the case of flat roofs (*praśtara*), they seem to have been supported by 'uprights' or straight beams.

All roofs whether berrel shaped, vaulted, domical or flat were possibly supported on a bamboo or wood frame placed on the cross-beams (*parimits*)—the method which is generally applied for such a type of roofing. Invariably, the roofs of the humble dwellings, depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures, are provided with decorative finials.[87]

We do not have any representation of tiles (*giñjaka*) as a roofing material in the reliefs. Although quite a number of titles have been unearthed in the excavations.[88]

82 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXV-b., XXI-a; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-B.
83 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXIX-b; XLV-a; XLVII-a.
84 *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIII-b.
85 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV.
86 *Ibid.*, Pl. XXXA.
87 It is reported that the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have yielded good number of finials.
88 References to tiles (*giñjaka*) we get in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, LXXXVIII, 97 and *giñjakavasaṭhā*, *D.*, II. 205. Tiles have been noticed at Kolhapur in Sātavāhana levels. H.D. Sankalia and M.G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Bramhapuri* 1945-46 (Kolhapur), Poona, 1952 Pl. XX-B; at Nasik in period III, H.D. Sankalia and S.B. Deo, *Excavations at Nasik and Jorwe*; 1950-51, (Poona, 1957), P. 106; at Sālihundam from the middle and late phases—R. Subrahmanyam, *A Buddhist site in Andhra Pradesh*, Andhra Pradesh Govt. publication Series (Hyderabad, 1964),p. 103.

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They are, in general, rectangular in shape. They have round holes and, at times, two longitudinal deep grooves along the body. They were probably used for constructing steeple-like sloping roofs. The tiles are slightly convex, perhaps, to facilitate the rain water to pass through the grooves rapidly without stagnation.[89] But at Goli, curved tiles are illustrated in the sculptures depicting the *Chhaddanta* and *Vessantara-jātakas*.[90] They are shown there to overlap one another like scales on a fish. It may be inferred from this that the ornamental scale-like decoration of temple towers in later date had possibly originated during the Ikshvāku period.

(ii) *Kapotapālikā(s)*

The small horse shoe shaped and window like roof decorations depicted in the bas-reliefs represent 'pigeon-protections' or pigeon houses. They are referred to as *Kapotapālikas* or *Kapotāpālis* or as in Skt. *Viṭaṅka*.

They are called *Kuḍus* in Tamil and are referred to in the *Śiśupālavadha*[91] as devocotes in which doves used to nestle. The name *Kapotapālikā* survives in the word *kapotam* used for similar places in the later temples of the Dravidian order.[92] The large horse-shoe windows carved in the early reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi are the true *chaitya* windows.[93] These horse-shoe windows are not *Kapotapālikas*—the ornamental members—or true *chaitya* windows in miniature. Long afterwards these horse-shoe windows were completely reduced to ornamentation and human heads were carved within them as at Mahabalipuram and in other early Pallava temples. The mode of representing complete human-figures in such *kuḍus* can be discernible in some of the sculptures from Amaravati.[94] This tradition lingered on even in the early Chola period.

In bas-reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā many frieze slabs and lintels reveal *kapotapālikas*. Often they appear in the roof lines or flanking the gable ends of the gateways or houses. Four panels[95] portraying 'the casting of the horoscope,' 'Asita's visit to Suddhodana,' 'presentation of the child at the Sākya temple' and 'the Māndhātu jātaka' illustrate *kapotapālikas* of the simple type. They have only arches without any top or the peak. This may be the incipient stage in the development of their

89 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XV-B.

90 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, Goli Sculptures, Pls. I-D, IV-A.

91 *Śiśupālavadha*, iii, 51 by Māgha with the commentary of Mallinātha (Nirnaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1910) pp. 1-523.

92 Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Archeologie du sud de l'Inde*, p. 61; The *Śālās* and the *Karṇakuḍus*, the two types of pavilion ornament decorating their towers are survivals of the old *Śālas* and *Kūṭāgāras* (with the *Karṇikā*): vide sketches of the two on p. 13 of *Dravidian Architecture* by the same author Edited by S. Krishnaswamy Ayyangar, Madras, 1927. *Coomaraswamy* translates the word *Kapota* to mean "roll-cornice" lamier". It is the *main cornice building* derived from the edge of the thatch and primitive drif-stone cut above the eave dwellings to prevent rain in. (*JOAS*, Vol. 48, pp. 250-275).

93 Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. Xcii, Fig. 6.

94 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. lxi, Fig. 2.

95 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XX-a, XXI-a, XXXIX-b.

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components. The sculptural depiction of the *kapotapālikas* with *Sirivaccha* symbol is profuse. Many panels reveal them.[96] In the panel portraying "Gift of the Earth"[97] *(Fig. II, 11)*, is illustrated a decorative *chaitya* window with *kīrtimukha* at the apex. Evidently this *kīrtimukha* motif may be an indigenous one as opposed to the later elaborate, fullfledged *kīrtimukha*[98] of the Gupta period. However, it does not mean that the *kīrtimukha* originated in the south. Regarding the central portion of the *kapota-pālikas*, they are generally filled with lotus, volute and lattice designs.[99]

It has already been stated that none of the reliefs depict windows, *gavākṣa* or *vātāyana*. But the walls facing the street sides probably had balconied windows. Similar balconied windows also occur in the contemporary Amaravati sculptures. As nowhere at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the bas-reliefs reveal the exterior view of the palaces or palatial buildings, no such balconied window can be seen.

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE

It is well known that the artistic efforts, especially in the early Buddhist period owed their origin to the growth of Buddhism. The religious character, so deeply rooted in the national life of the Indians, continued to be the guiding force in their art through the age. These sculptures, influenced by the religious tendencies and destined to serve religious purposes, could only portray non-secular representations. In this respect, the art and architecture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā cannot be an exception.

The epigraphs[100] and the Buddhist edifices, discovered in the excavations,[101] reveal that Nāgārjunakoṇḍā was a happy habitat of different Buddhist sects during the Ikshvāku period. Buddhist orders like *Mahāvihāravāsin*, *Mahī-śāsaka*, *Bahuśrutīya* and *Apara-mahāvinaseliya* co-existed there in harmony. Several monks and nuns frequented the valley as known from the inscription[102] of the *Chula-Dhammagirivihāra*. They brought with them new ideas, innovations and approaches, and infused them into the architecture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Perhaps due to this reason, the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā portray the Buddha in both symbolic and anthropomorphic forms.

Many *stūpa* slabs[103] depict symbols like *agniśkanda*, *dharma-cakra*, *pūrṇaghaṭa*, *bodhi* tree, etc. Similarly the anthropomorphic forms of the Buddha occur in the reliefs.[104] The Buddha, at times being protected by the Nāga Muchalinda, appears in the sculptures more than once. However, from the sculptural representations of both

96 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXIII, XXIV, XXVI-c, XXXII-a, b & c.

97 *Ibid.*, XXXV-b.

98 For the origin of the *kīrtimukha* motif see Gangoly, O.C., 'A Note on *kīrtimukha*-Being the life History of an Indian Architectural ornament', *Rūpam*, No. 1, Jany. 1920, pp. 11-19.

99 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XL-a, pl. XLI-a and XLV-a.

100 For Buddhist inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, see J. Ph. Vogel in *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, (1929-30) pp. 1-37 and XXI, (1931-32) pp. 61-71; D.C. Sarkar, *Ibid.*, XXXIII, (1959-61), pp. 247-50.

101 For Excavations see Longhurst, *MASI*, 54, Ramachandran, *MASI*, 71, *IAR*, 1954 to 1960,

102 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, 22-23.

103 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XI-a etc.

104 *Ibid.*, Pl. XI-b, c, d etc.

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the forms, their chronological sequence cannot be formulated. They might have been introduced by the different sects at the same time.[105] On this account, the classification of the sculptures, early or late (on the basis of the forms), is rendered difficult. In fact in some panels these two forms occur side by side.

That the Buddhist sects flourishing at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā influenced to a large extent, the monastic architecture is also justified by the archaeological evidence. The *stūpas* and *vihāras* exposed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā do not reveal any identical type of establishments.[106] Evidently this may be due to the manifestation of ideological differences in the monastic architecture. The *Apara-Mahāvinaseliyas*, who did not originally own the idea of worshipping the Buddha image, believed in the *stūpa* worship and became responsible for the construction of the *Mahāchaitya*.[107] The *Mahiśāsakas* never even built *chaitya-gṛihas*, not to speak of their doing image worship.[108] It was the *Bahuśrutīyas* that subscribed to the conception of the *chaityagṛihas*.[109] But the Ceylonese sect adopted altogether a new constructional feature.[110] Their *stūpas* were built with solid bases and without *āyakas*. Thus, to start with, many sects started their careers in the valley without the Buddha image but most of them yielded to the idea.

However, many reliefs belonging to Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley represent *stūpas* with *āyaka* platforms. Provision of an *āyaka* platform in a *stūpa* once again appears to have been introduced as a characteristic feature of a particular sect. For, with the discovery of the *stūpas* without *āyakas* from the excavations in the same place and the places like Salihuṇḍam[111] etc., the general belief that the *āyaka* platforms are the typical trait of the Andhra *stūpa* architecture is disproved. Attesting this, the *stūpas* at Sālihuṇḍam and Rāmatīrtham in Andhra Pradesh are also devoid of *āyaka* platforms. The absence of the *āyakas* at Sālihuṇḍam, however, has been explained by the fact that the technique of construction of those edifices was borrowed from North India via Orissa.[112]

Again the symbols like the *dharma-cakra* and the *svastika* are illustrated in the sculptures frequently. In all probability, these symbols served as the basis for the conception of the wheel based and *svastika stūpas*. Testifying to the transformation of these conceptions into the architectural entities, many *stūpas* with wheel bases and *svastika* set in the centre of the *stūpa*, have been excavated at

105 See Sarkar, H., Some Aspects of the Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda, *Ancient India* No. 16, pp. 65-83. Also S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India. Their history and their contribution to the Indian culture*, (London, 1962) pp. 134-137.

106 Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XL.

107 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII, 1.

108 *Ibid.*, pls. XLVIII, 7 & 8.

109 *Ibid.*, pls. XXXVIII.

110 *Ibid.*, pls. XXVII.

111 *Ancient India*, No. 16, fig. 3; 70 and fig. 4, p. 72.

112 Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

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Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[113] Perhaps the *Chaityakas*[114] who had a distinct school of their own in the Andhra-desa specialised this mode of *stūpa* construction. These *chaityakas* proclaimed their speciality in the construction and decoration of the *chaityas* and *stūpas* which flourished at Dhānyakaṭaka, the modern Amaravati.

Similarly the four, eight and ten spoked *stūpas* discovered at the place[115] would have had the ideological concept harmonised into the architectural requirement. In this way the four-spoked *stūpa* stands for the Four Noble Truths, the eight spoked one for the Eight-Fold Path preached by the Buddha and the ten-spoked *stūpa* for the ten *prajñā pāramitas.*

Several reliefs depict the *stupa* complex. The distinctive features of the *stūpa*[116] architecture depicted in the sculptures go well in confirmity with the religious texts like the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mahāvaṁsa*[117] etc., these give detailed account of the *stūpa* and its construction. The drum (*vedikā*), the dome (*aṇḍa*) surmounting the *vedikā*, the *harmikā*, the *chhatra*, the *āyaka* platforms with *āyaka* pillars at the four cardinal points, the circumambulatory path (*pradakshiṇāpatha*) and the railings consisting of uprights (*ūrdhvapaṭṭa*) and cross-bars (*sūchī*) standing on the tenons, all of the *stūpa*, have been impeccably portrayed in the sculptures. The free-standing pillars with animals or symbols over the capitals stand loftily before the *stūpa* entrances. The domes of the *stūpas* have been dexterously embelished with festoons, floral designs and the scenes from the life of the Buddha while the *vedikas* are veneered or flanked with the *phalakas* or slabs representing *agni-skanda*, *bodhi*--tree, *purṇaghaṭa* etc.

The very shape of the *stūpa* with the dome is meant, perhaps, for reminding the beholder of their philosophic concept—of that it is ephemeral or unreal and is short-lived. The dome takes the form of a bubble reminding that life is just like a bubble in water and may vanish at any time.

Among other religious structures we have the representations of the *Śakya*

113 *Ancient India*, No. 16, Pls. XLIX, XXXIX, XLX; At Pedda Ganjam is also noticed a *stūpa* with *svastika* symbol see Alexander Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities* (Madras 1894) p. 3.

114 The *Chaityakas* were so called on account of their devotion to the *Chaitya*; N. Dutt *Early Monastic Buddhism*, 11 (Calcutta, 1945), p. 51; see Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist monks and monasteries of India : Their history and their contribution to the Indian Culture* (London, 1962), pp. 127-28.

115 *Ancient India*, No. 16, pls. XXXIX, XLI, XLIV.

116 The *Stūpa*, derived from the Sanskrit root *stu*, to collect, means a heap or mound. It also means a monument of veneration when it is connected with the root *stu* to praise. The *stūpa* (*dagoba* in the Sinhalese and *dhātugarbha* in skt.) occurs in the *Māhābhārata* (3,190,65 and 67) as *eduka*, *Jaluka* when they are referred as Buddhist shrines. See *Foucher*, *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique 1*, Paris, 1905-18, p. 96; H. *Parker*, *Ancient Ceylon* London, 1909; The *Avadāno Śataka* mentions three kinds of *stūpas gandha stūpa*, *Kesanaka stūpa* and *stūpa*—see Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-270, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 48 and the present authors article on Relics from the South Indian Stupas, *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XXIX (Parts 3-4) pp. 1-7.

117 *Mahāvaṁsa*, chs. XXVIII; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 244.

118 Longhurst, *op. cit.* Pl. XXI-a.

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temple[118] and the *Vṛkshachaitya*.[119] The panel representing the presentation of the child at the *śākya* temple gives an example of the *devakula* or *devaprāsāda*, or *āyatana*. The *Vṛkshacaityas* are depicted frequently in the sculptures. They are of similar variety with a platform (*vedikā*). In representing the Buddha in the form of an empty throne under a *bodhi* tree, the emphasis is always on the tree. The *yaksha* Śākyavardhana is sometimes shown on a simple platform under the tree.[120] The *Vṛkshacaityas* were a popular object of worship. However, it is noticeable that the *bodhigaras* are totally absent in the reliefs.

In a panel[121] that illustrates a *stūpa*, is revealed a pillared *maṇḍapa* in which an *agni-skanda* (flaming pillar) is installed on a throne. The *maṇḍapa* has a domical roof and a pinnacle. A *kapotapālī* is also inset in the roof at the front. Apparently, the roof is supported by curved rafters. The *agni-skanda* or *agni-rudra* (flaming pillar),[122] was an object of adoration. It is shown in the sculpture as rising above feet on a *svastika* crowned by a wheel and a *triśūla*. The flaming pillars that occur in the Amaravati reliefs (period three) rise above feet on a lotus crowned by the triśūla.

Similarly, in another panel[123] that depicts a drum slab, a building is revealed wherein a *pūrṇaghaṭa* is enshrined. The shrine with its domical roof and a pinnacle is supported by pillars. The whole structure is enclosed by walls and a railing on all sides with a gateway provided with balustrated steps.[124] In it a *pūrṇaghaṭa*, the symbolic representation of the Buddha, over a wicker stand, (*paṭṭa kandolikā*)[125] is placed. The *pūrṇaghaṭa*[126] was also an object of worship like the above one.

ROADS

Although roads are not illustrated in the reliefs, indirectly, one can visualize them in some of the sculptures. In one panel[127] revealing king Kappina's conversion to Buddhism, a procession is depicted; three elephants standing side by side and followed by horses and a large number of foot-soldiers are shown in it. From this it

118 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a.

119 *Ibid.*, pl. XI-a; For origin of the word *caitya* see the author's article "Caityas not exclusively Buddhistic in origin" *QJMS*, Vol. Lx, Nos. 1-4, P. 1-4. The word *caitya* (*cetiya* in Pali) derived from the word *citi* which actually means a funeral pyre, also connotes various meanings like shrine, sacred tree, cenotaph, holy spot etc. In Nepal and Tibet this word is used in the sense of a *stūpa* : J. Burgess, *Report on the Cave Temples* (London, 1883), p. 174; Also see J. Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India* (London, 1901), p. 20; *JASB*, Vol. VII, p. 1001.

120 J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpant Worship* (London, 1868), pl. lXIX.

121 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XI-a.

122 For the discussion on flaming pillar see Ghosh, D.P., 'The Development of Buddhist Art in South India,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, ii, 1 (Calcutta, 4927), pp. 493-494; R.S. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, Second ed. (London, 1880), pp. 1-56; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

123 *Ancient India*, No. 16, Pl. XLVI.

124 Cf. Marshall, & Foucher, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pl. XXXIV-a, fig. 2.

125 The Wicker stand is known as *paṭṭa kandolikā* in the *Cullavagga*, iii, P. 86, V. 9, 4.

126 For the origin of *Pūrṇaghaṭa* see Agrawala, V.S., Pūrṇa-kalaśa, *Roopalēkha*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, pp. 22-31; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

127 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. L-a.

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can be inferred that the road of the royal procession was fairly wide to accommodate three elephants abreast at a time besides a large crowd. Possibly it may represent a *rājapatha*. Besides the *rāja mārga*, there were lanes and by-lanes. The panel[128] representing 'Gift of the Earth,' wherein a wealthy man's house is illustrated, possibly also shows a by-road. That there were foot-paths and hill tracks can be made out from the reliefs portraying the Mahāpaduma jātaka[129] and the Daśaratha jātaka.[130] In the panel representing the Mahāpaduma Jātaka, the soldiers with the prince Paduma are shown passing through a rugged path towards a cliff. In another panel illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka, Rāma, and Sītā are revealed following a foot-path in a forest.

MATERIALS AND MASONRY

In construction of palace buildings the materials chiefly employed appear to be wood, brick and stone. Limestone appears to be a lavishly used building material as evidenced from the excavated pillared halls, *stūpa* railings, *stūpa* slabs decorating the domes and *vedikas*. This may be due to its easy availability and close proximity. The limestone quarries presently available in nearby places like Macherla, Dachapalli could have also been the source for the building materials in the Ikshvāku period.

The walls of the palace buildings were built of large bricks that were set with mud-mortar and plastered.[131] The *stūpas*, monasteries, temples etc., unearthed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bear testimony to this style of building. Attesting to the practice of lime based plastering of the walls; lime troughs have also been invariably discovered in the monasteries exposed in the excavations. Mansions of the wealthy probably had tiled roofs as seen in the Goli sculptures.[132]

For the humbler dwellings, the common building material was bamboo and thatch.[133] Wood was commonly used for posts. Fig or Sal tree wood was preferred.[134] Walls of the huts consisted of wattle and daub. In the *parṇaśāls* or leaf huts various kinds of leaves were used, of these the most common were Sal, Coconut

128 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV-b. Interestingly, the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have revealed residential quarters with lanes and by lanes besides the main road.

129 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-b.

130 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a.

131 cf. *dhavala-hara*, 'White-House', *Sanatkumāracarita*, 548, 599 and 608. Vatsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* refers to walls of *harmya prāsāda* which were so magnificently and beautifully polished that a girl could see her image reflected in it.

132 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XV-B; Flat or slate tiles (*giñjaka*) are being used in sub-Himalayan regions and Andhra Pradesh.

133 The *Suttanipāta* commentary (*Paramatthajyotikā*, vol. 11, part 2, pp. 575-577) speaks of an institution of carpenters or wood carvers which maintained itself by executing occasional orders for the building purposes; cf. also *Mastya P.*, ch. 252-257; *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 105; *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, ch. 46 etc.

134 *Cull.*, VI. 3 and *Vinaya* texts, 3. 170-172; Khadira, Sāla, Madhūka, Simsapa, Arjuna, Akanau, Kirini etc. are specially recommended for making posts of a building; *J.* 489.

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and Palm leaves.[135] One hut, that is represented in the sculpture, reveals a palm leaf motif.

Stūpas mostly had wheel-shaped bases with *āyaka* platforms at four cardinal directions, typical of Andhra art. This style of construction is attested to in the *stūpas* excavated at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[136] Perhaps this wheel shaped plan of the *stūpa* was motivated mainly by the structural stability and economy of material besides drawing inspiration from the *Dharmacakra* symbol. That the *stūpas* were built of brick or rubble can be known from the ones excavated at the place.[137]

135 *Jātakas*, 1. 121; II. 154, 162, 175; II. 250, 264, 281, 284, 319, 320, 336, 416; X. 480; XXV, 538 etc. *Cullavagga* refers to various kinds of leaves as roofing material VI, 3, 10; *SBE*, XX, Part iii, 177-179.

136 *Ancient India*, No. 16, Pls. XLIV; fig. 6, p. 76; fig. 3, p. 70. However, some of the *stūpas* without wheel and āyaka platform have been exposed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā; *Ibid.*, p. 78. Similar examples come from Sālihuṇḍam and Rāmatirtham in Andhra Pradesh.

137 *Ibid.*, No. 16, p. 78. Rubble *stūpa* with wheel-base is noticed at Kodavalli in East Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh.

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THREE

Costumes

COSTUMES OF THE ARISTOCRACY

(i) *Kings*

The apparel of the kings represented in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs is very scanty. In fact, it is difficult to visualize, in the matter of dress, any difference between the royalty and the commoners; either in the articles of dress or in the mode of wearing them. If at all there existed any variance between the attires of these classes, it could have been in the material. As such, it becomes impossible to note the difference in them from the sculptures.

It is quite likely that the higher class used finer fabrics while the commoners remained contented with the simpler variety. As Flugel puts it, "dress is a sign of rank, occupation, locality and display of wealth."[1] It is surprising, indeed, that the king is represented in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures almost bare bodied except for his lower garment (*adhovastra*) which is, in a majority of the cases, a *langoṭī*[2] or a sort of tight breech clout and an occasional upper garment (*uttarīya*). A people who enjoyed a highly advanced stage of civilization cannot be so primitive in their dress which is regarded as a sure test of manners and ideas. "Dress" says Alison, "is characteristics of manners and manners are the mirrors of ideas." While ancient Indian literature abounds in discriptive references to different catagories of garments the contemporary sculptural evidence is sparse. Perhaps the scantiness of dress in the sculptures was necessitated, as construed by Rajendralal Mitra,[3] owing to the exigencies of the art; or it might be that the persons sculptured in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā wore a diaphanous costume.[4]

1 J.C. Flugal, *The Psychology of Clothes* (Edinburg, 1929), pp. 31-32.

2 *Hiler* Hilaire uses this word while speaking about the clothing of the Mois and explains it "as a sort of tight-breech clout"(*From Nudity to Raiment*, London, 1930, p. 68); Molesworth explains this word as a piece of cloth worn round the loins covering the privities (*Marathi and English Dictionary*, 1857, p. 706). The word is applicable, in the present case, in both these meanings.

3 Rajendralal Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

4 C. Sivaramamurti, *Sanskrit Literature and Art, Mirrors of Indian Culture*, MASI, 73 (Calcutta, 1955), p. 54.

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Hewever, among the aristocratic persons, depicted in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, the king is shown wearing a few items of dress. Thus king Śuddhodana, (*Fig. III, 1*) is shown, in the panel[5] depicting 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana', as wearing a *langoṭī*.[6] Over it and round the waist is tied a rolled scarf, its knot comes on the right hip and projects a long loop; the upper portion of the waist, in the sculpture, remains completely uncovered.[7] In this case, the rolled scarf is used as a *kamarabandha*[8] distinguishable from the ornamental girdle. Again in the sculpture revealing 'king Kappina's conversion' (Longhurst, pl. XXV-a), the king Kappina appears almost in a similar dress except for the knot of the *kamarabandha* which, in this case, is seen tied on the left hip. The knot is larger than that of Śuddodana's rolled scarf and is shaped like a conch-shell or *śaṅkha*. There were many fashionable methods of tying the *kamarabandha*, and it had different names in accordance with the fashion it was worn. For instance, the *Cullavagga*[9] refers to the term *dedubhaka*, a knot shaped like a water serpant's hood. Similarly *Kalavuka* designated the waist-band made of many strings plaited together. At times even the waist-band which is usually found round the waist of the king, is absent as in the case of the king depicted in the panel revealing the Campeyya Jātaka (Longhurst, pl.XXXVIII-b).

Some more items of King's dress can be seen in some of the reliefs. In the panel depicting 'a king denouncing Brahmanism' (Longhurst, pl. XXX-c), besides the usual lower garment and a waist-band, the king is seen wearing a rolled scarf round his neck (*uttarīya*), and a long strip of cloth slings from his waist-band in between his legs. The rolled scarf is folded in the middle by gathering the two ends together and then worn, the loop and the ends falling back over the shoulders. The upper garment is usually seen as a single piece of cloth of considerable length. References to these in literature are profuse. The words *uttarīya, uttarāsaṅga, uttaraśāṭaka, upari-vasana, prāvaraṇa* in literature connote the upper garment. In Bhāsa's *Dūtavākya*, Duryodhana is described as wearing a

5 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, Plate XXI-a.

6 The term denotes the sparse garment that covers the waist region of the majority of the figures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, both male and female. Some figures show them as sewn garment. In some cases it is a narrow scarf simply worn round the waist and passed between the legs. A few figures exhibit it as a very short narrow strip of cloth worn only between the legs by tucking its ends in the string that is tied round the waist. In some cases it is a triangular piece of cloth with one end being taken through the legs and tied to the other two, or tucked in the knot formed by them; the word used in the text denotes any of these kinds.

7 Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia : its Mythology and transformations*, vol. 2, (New York 1954); Amaravati pl. 86a; D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum* (London, 1954), pl. VI, VII, XXVII.

8 This term is used to denote either a narrow strip of cloth or a belt-like thing round the waist, or a rolled scarf tied round the waist over the *langoṭī, dhoti* or *pyjama*. Interestingly a word *kāyābandha* meaning a garment for the waist is referred to in the Kharoshti document from Chinese-Turkestan (Agrawala, R.C., 'A Study of Textiles and Garments and depicted in the Kharoshti documents from Chinese-Turkistan,' DOC. No. 149, *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (1953), Vol. XIV, pp. 75-94 under item No. O.

Cullavagga, V. 29. 2.

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white silk cloth as his upper garment.[10] Kālidāsa speaks of golden upper garments (*uttarīyas*) in his *kāvyās*.[11] At times the upper cloth was ornamented with precious stones forming lovely borders.[12] Interestingly, some of the Amaravati reliefs reveal such borders.[13]

Another addition to the king's dress as depicted in the panel revealing 'the king denouncing Brahmanism' (Longhurst, pl. XXX-c), is the long strip of cloth that dangles from the waist-band between his legs. As can be seen, the king is shown wearing a lower garment over which is tied a double band: from this slings a strip of cloth, an ornamental penis-sheath, as its shape would indicate. Such penis-sheaths are not uncommon among certain tribes of people even to-day.[14] Interestingly, similar piece of cloth, used as penis-sheath, can be seen in the attire of the Chenchus, a local hill tribe presently inhabiting the Krishna valley (Longhurst, Plate III).

The panel illustrating 'a *cakravartin* surrounded by seven jewels' (Longhurst, pl. XXX-b), depicts a new kind of dress for the *cakravartin*. He wears a tight pyjama or trouser.[15] A long-piece of cloth serving as a waist-band holds it in position. Under the waist-band is worn a girdle of strung beads. A larger loop hangs down from the knot which comes on the left hip, and a strip of cloth hangs between the legs from the centre of the girdle. However, no upper garment is to be seen (*Fig. III, 2*).

Again, a clear depiction of the *dhoti* used as a lower garment comes from the panel portraying 'the Renunciation or Going Forth' (Longhurst, pl. XXI-b). In this panel Gautama's lower portion of the body is covered with a *dhoti*. Its folds, the skirt, and the multi-folded end are shown tucked in front; they are clearly depicted. His *dhoti* reaches his ankles. To secure it, a waist-band is tied arround, its loop and ends falling on the left hip. A narrow strip of cloth hangs in front, with its two ends attached to the waist-band. It is noteworthy that the *dhoti* invariably goes down below the knees to the mid leg as in the case of Bharhut sculptures.

From these descriptions of the royal dress it is seen that the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures do not present uniformity in respect of a king's dress. On the whole, the dress is very scanty. The dress of a king, which the sculptor has usually depicted consists of a *langoṭī prāvaraṇa*, very frequently, and often a *kamarabandha*; pyjama or *dhoti* very rarely. Thus the kings are portrayed generally, scantily dressed whether indoors or in the palace among the queens, or out-doors in a processions. The cases in which the king is shown appearing in a dhoti or pyjama are very few and they may be regarded as exceptions.

10 Bhāsanāṭakacakram, "*Plays ascribed to Bhāsa*", ed. by C.R. Devadhar (1937), p. 442. D., 1, 3.

11 *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa ed. by W.L. Panikar (N.S.P.), XIII, 21.

12 *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI, 43.

13 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, fig. 3.

14 See A.V. Naik, 'Studies in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures,' *BDCRI*, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2 (1940), p. 58, footnote. It is the practice in the modern times in the South India (Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnad and Mysore State) to use gold "*Māna Billas*" for children.

15 This pyjama or trouser appears to be of central Asian origin.

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Fig. III Costumes

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(ii) *Amorous couples, males*

If, as Longhurst has taken them to be, the amorous couples in the vertical panels separating the scenes carved on the *āyaka* cornice stones represent pairs of royal lovers then our observations regarding royal attire receive further corroboration, as in a majority of cases, the male lover is depicted in the same dress as that of a king. A *langoṭī* with a *kamarabandha* over it, the ends of which are left hanging down or floating and a piece of cloth tucked in it at the sides or behind, was then the normal attire of these aristocrats. To this sometimes was added an *uttarīya* worn according to individual tastes. The use of *dhoti*, though not common, was not altogether unknown, and in a few cases we find it used in place of the *langoṭī*. It was long, reaching the ankle, and worn in a very graceful manner (*Fig. III, 3, 4*).

(iii) *Gods, Semi-gods and the Celestials*

It may not be unreasonable to deduce inferences as regards the dress of aristocratic persons from the representation of gods and other celestials. In the representations of gods and goddesses, the Hindu and the Buddhist art shows, all through, marked reliance on the prevailing fashions in the upper-classes. It has been said that "Indian gods live like glorified Rajas." Although in later Buddhist mythology they occupied a position subordinate to the Master, but the people were apt to regard them as superior persons belonging to the same category as that of the kings. We find gods wearing the same dresses as the kings and this fact would strengthen our observations cited above. Actually we meet a host of gods in one panel (Longhurst, pl. XXIII-a) wherein they are shown seated around the Buddha's throne and exhorting him to proclaim his doctrine to the mankind. In it all of them are seen wearing *langoṭīs*, these are tied to the waist by a waist-band, its ends hang on one side and the loops on the other (*Fig. III, 5,6*). The only god who differs in this respect from the king is Indra. He is always represented as wearing a cap or a cylindrical turban, slightly tapering towards the top, which is comparitively tall and sometimes (Longhurst, pl. XX-a) Indra is shown as wearing a long *dhoti* reaching upto his ankles and also an *uttarīya* on his upper body (*Fig. III, 7*).

(iv) *Princes*

Two panels portraying Mahāpaduma jātaka and Ghaṭa jātaka (Longhurst, pls. XLV-b and XLVI-a) reveal the dresses of the princes—Paduma and Upasāgara. The prince Paduma is shown wearing a tunic, with full sleeves, reaching the waist. It is fastened at the waist by a band. It is not clear whether he wears a *dhoti* or a pyjama, as no mark indicating either is visible. Again in the panel illustrating the Ghaṭa jātaka, the prince Upasāgara (*Fig. III, 8*) is shown attired in the most decent dress befitting his position. He is wearing a tunic which is round at the neck and has long sleeves. It is secured to the waist with a scarf to which is attached a sword. An upper-garment is worn which, passing across the body, coils round the left shoulder and falls back. Since the panel is mutilated, the lower portion is missing.

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it is not possible to say whether he wears a *dhoti* or a pyjama. Further in the panel representing 'the *cakravartin* and his seven jewels' (Longhurst, pl. XXX-b), a general is depicted in a similar dress. He wears a close fitting trouser or a pyjama like that of the *cakravartin* and a tunic like coat with full sleeves over which is worn an *uttarīya* it is seen passing across the body and is thrown over the left shoulder, (*Fig. III, 9*).

This full sleeved coat or tunic has a very early origin and is essentially a central Asian garment. In India it came with the Scythians, and in the Kushāṇa period some of the Kushāṇa kings, depicted in the Mathura art have been shown wearing similar coats.[16] But in the Gupta period they possibly became an article of common use, and on some of the Gupta coins[17] monarchs are shown clad in similar coats. Agrawala considers this long coat as the *Chīna-Cholaka* type of a garment.[18]

(v) *Dwarfs*

The dress of the dwarfs as depicted in the relief is again very scanty. They are shown either wearing a short *dhoti* (*Fig. III, 10*) which ends above the knee, or merely a *langoṭī* which is secured by means of a waist-band.[19] The short *dhoti* can be identified as *ardhoruka* which is frequently mentioned in the contemporary literature.[20] It is a characteristic dress item of the early periods as is evident from its representations at Amaravati and Sanchi.[21] In another instance a dwarf[22] in addition to his *ardhoruka*, is shown wearing a stomach-band, *udarabandha*. It is tied round his stomach with its knot on the right side. The loop and the tassel of the *udarabandha* are quite clear.

In one panel[23] a dwarf is represented as wearing a different costume. He is shown with a *langoṭi* worn, in the *sakachha* fashion i.e. with the end passing between the legs and tucked in behind: from the way it went round the thighs, it was called *Saṁvelliya* and Buddhagosha explains how this mode involved a *kaccha*.[24]

(vi) *Ministers*

The ministers[25] depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures are well dressed in contrast to the sparsely dressed kings shown there. In a panel illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion' (Longhurst, pl. XXV-a), a minister is shown wearing a close fitting tunic or *achkan* having sleeves down to the wrists. The neck of

16 J. Ph., Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura* (Bruxelles, 1930), pls. I, II & III.

17 A.S., Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (Banaras, 1957), pl. I, 14-15.

18 V.S.. Agrawala, '*Clothes in Harşacharita*' (in Hindi) *NPP*, Vol. 57, 1952-53,p. 325.

19 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, IX-c.

20 *Amara*, p. 158, *Urvorārdhā-Chchādakaṁ-aṁs'ukamardhorukam.*

21 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, 1; M.K. Dhavalikar, *Sanchi-A Cultural Study*, Poona, 1965, fig. 8.

22 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, IX-d.

23 *Ibid.*, pls. XX-a; XXIX-a.

24 Vinaya Texts, iii, p. 145; *Cullavagga*, V. 29, 4. See also Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

25 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXV-a, XXXIII-b, XXXI-a, XXX-b, XXXVI-b etc.,

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the garment is round; a waist-band is tied round the waist and a sword is attached to it, A scarf passes round the waist and over the left shoulder, which coiling round it, falls on the back. The body below the waist is shown covered with a *dhoti* or a loin-cloth which reaches upto the ankle. Again in one panel illustrating the Śibi Jātaka, we find that three ministers have been depicted (*Fig. III, 11*). The one by the side of the seated king Śibi wears a tunic fastened at the waist by a belt or perhaps a narrow scarf used as a waist-band. Round his neck is an upper-garment whose ends, it appears are thrown back over the shoulders, the body below the waist being covered with a pyjama. Same is the case with the second minister shown standing at the right extremity in the panel. His upper-garment has slipped down on the left elbow forming a broad curve or a loop between the arms, (*Fig. III, 12*). The third minister, standing with a balance in his hand, wears a tunic and a *dhoti* and has perhaps tied his *uttarīya* to his waist in lieu of a belt or waist-band.

Thus it appears that the minister's dress consisted of a tunic with full sleeves which was fastened at the waist with a *kamarabandha*. The upper-garment was worn over the tunic in various fashions, the commonest being the one in which the *uttarīya* was worn like a *upavīta*.Their lower bodies were sometimes covered with a pyjama and sometimes with a *dhoti* but never left bare.

The pyjamas or trousers worn by the ministers could be the *svasthāna* type of a garment which is of central Asian origin.[26] "By reason of their domestication of horses and adoption of horse-back riding", says McGovern, "the inhabitants of central Asia were forced to discard the loose skirt costume. For centuries, wearing of trousers was confined exclusively to the inhabitants of central Asia and this custom spread to all parts of the globe".[27] The word *Soṃstaṃni* referred to in the Niya documents of central Asia,[28] seems to be the same piece of apparel. Bailey suggests that it may refer to *Suthamma* (trouser)[29] modern word *sutthana*. Evidently this apparel was the introduction of the Śakas into India.

(vii) *Queens*

The bas-reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā disclose royal ladies in a scanty dress and divulge no dissimilarity of dress when similarly compared to the ladies of the lower class. We have representations of only two classes in the bas-reliefs, the one at the top of the hierarchical ladder and the other occupying the lowest rung i.e. the queens and princesses on one hand and the female attendants on the other. The disparity in status does not appear to have affected the style of female costume and we find practically the same dress in use both by the queens and the ladies of the lower class.

26 Agrawala, *NPP*. Vol. 57, p. 320. See *infra* for the origin of this dress under soldiers.

27 McGovern, *Early Empires of Central Asia* (Chapel Hill N.C. 1939), p. 2.

28 R.C. Agrawala, 'A Study of the Textiles and Garments as depicted in the Kharoshti Documents from Chinese Turkestan,' *BV*, Vol. XIV, 1953, p. 89.

29 H.W. Baily, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. vol. IX, p. 532.

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However, as in the case of kings, the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs reveal sparsly dressed queens and princesses. Thus the queens depicted in the panel illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka (Longhurst, pls. XXXIX-a & b) are scantily clad and wear only the *langoṭī*. Except as depicted here they are shown completely nude. A similar portraiture of a queen's dress can also be seen in contemporary sculptures at Goli.[30]

In another panel representing 'the Nativity and Seven steps' (Longhurst pl. XX-b) some additions to a queen's dress can be seen. The queen Māyā is shown wearing an *antarīya* with its knot (*nīvī*) at the front. References to such knots, of the lower-garments in the literature are plenty. The lower-garment of queen Māyā is shown secured by a waist-band around her waist with its loop and ends falling on the left hip. A narrow strip of cloth hangs in the front with its two ends attached to the *kamarabandha*, thus making a broad loop, (*Fig. IV, 13*). Since the waist-band is exactly akin to that of the male figure, it does not require any discussion here as the same is fully described earlier. A perfect example of the queen's dress can be had in an unidentified sculpture (Longhurst, pl. XXVI-c) wherein the costumes of two queens are depicted. One is completely nude except for her decorated *langoṭī*. The other wears an *antarīya* which is fastened with a waist-band round the waist. The bands on the waist-band are distinctly sculptured. In this case, a rolled scarf, *stanottarīya* is worn by her and both its ends are seen thrown on her back. The *stanottarīya* is cited profusely in literature. Kālidāsa speaks of *stanottarīya* and *uttarā-saṅga*—both meaning an upper garment.[31] These *stanottarīyas* at times had red borders, and interestingly, an Amaravati sculpture reveals a bordered *stanottarīya*.[32]

It can thus be seen that at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā in majority of the cases, scantily clad queens appear wearing a solitary *langoṭī* which is usually decorated. Invariably its knot, *nīvī*, is shown in the front.[33] In some cases waist-bands are seen tied over the lower-garments with their knots and projecting loops on the sides. The same dress is seen depicted, in the case of queens, at Amaravati, Sanchi and Goli sculptures; they portray the queens still more scantily dressed with their clothing generally limited to a bead-belt round the torso below the waist.

In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs the queens are generally represented sitting, either, with the kings on the throne or on a separate honoured chair—thus distinguishing herself from the ordinary female attendants that are seen surrounding the king's throne. It is, therefore, obviously the position that the queens occupy in the sculptures, in accordance with the context of the story, that distinguish them from the uniformity of similarly clad other female attendants surrounding the king's throne. But for this, it is difficult to distinguish the status of the ladies in the sculptures. Only in one panel the dress of the queen is shown in a different style. In the panel depicting Dighīti Kosala Jātaka (Longhurst, pl. XLVII-a), the queen of Dighīti is

30 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, Plate I-D.

31 *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI, 17; *Kumārasambhava*, V. 16.

32 *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVI, 17; *Bhartṛhari*, ii, 21; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 9.

33 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXI-b, XXVI-a, IX-b, XLI-a, XXXI-b, XXXIII-c and XXVI-c.

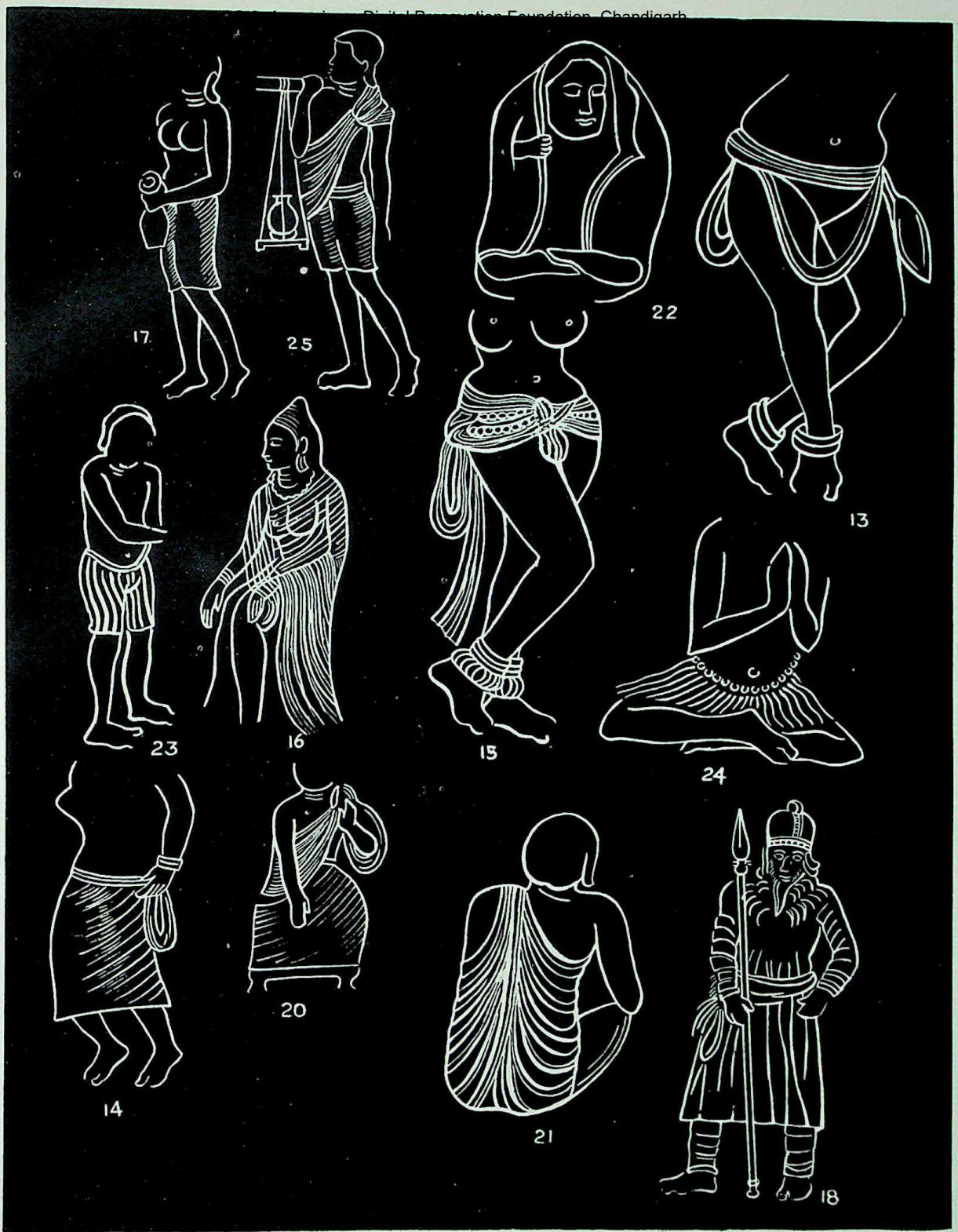

Fig. IV Costumes

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shown clad in a *sari*[34] or *dhoti* (*pañca* or *ardhoruka*). She wears it tied round her loins (*Fig. IV, 14*) reaching down upto the knees. Her upper portion is completely bare.

Again, it is interesting to note that the ladies of certain communities, particularly of the Nayar community in the present State of Kerala follow similar mode of wearing a sari. As a parallel example to this in the contemporary sculptures at Goli and Amaravati,[35] we find in the panel depicting Vessentara Jātaka the princess Mādrī in a similar dress as found in the case of the queen of Dighīti.

(viii) *Amorous couples, females*

The female dress in the amorous couples very much resembles that seen on the queens. They are represented almost bare-bodied except for the use of a lower-garment at times tied with a waist-band and, occasional use of an upper garment as well. In a majority of cases, the female, of the royal lovers, is shown wearing an *antarīya* with the *vastragranthi* invariably in the front. But in the panel depicting 'The devas congratulating the Buddha after his Enlightenment,' (Longhurst, pl. XXXVII-b), the females in the amorous couples, are represented wearing a piece of cloth around their waists. The border of this diaphanous apparel is distinctly visible, (pl. IV). And no upper-garment is to be seen in use. In cases where the *kamara-bandhas* are seen worn, they are secured to the *langoṭī* in such a way as to form a large variety of knots, with projecting loops usually falling at the sides (Longhurst pls. XXXIV-a, XXXVIII-a & b, XXXVI-b). Here the waist-band is exuberant (*Fig. IV, 15*) and resembles those seen on the figures in the Kārlā cave-facades and sculptures of Mathura.[36] As for the upper-garment, the female of the royal pair of lover is depicted wearing a *stanottarīya* with its major portion slinging down at the front, (Longhurst, pl. XI-c).

(ix) *Nāgī(s) Yakshī(s) and apsara(s)*

Goddesses and celestial beings represented in the bas-reliefs wear apparel exactly similar to that of the queens. They are shown scantly dressed and their costume includes only a *langoṭī* in a majority of cases.

(x) *Princesses*

The princesses[37] illustrated in the bas-reliefs are meagrely dressed. There dresses, too, resemble those as seen worn by the queens. As a deviation from this general rule the princess Devagabbhā portrayed in the panel illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka (Longhurst, pl. XLVI-a) is shown wearing a different attire. She appears to wear a *sārī*. Her entire body is covered with it. The *sārī* even covers a part of her

34 In this connection the Malay *Sarang* may be recalled for comparison. The word *Sarang* is borrowed from Sanskrit and given typical Malay ending-*ong*. See Fabri, Charles : *A History of Indian dress* (Calcutta, 1961), p.8.

35 Ramachandran, (Goli sculptures), *op. cit.*, pls. V and VI. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII-5.

36 V.S. Agrawala, *Masterpieces of Mathura Sculpture* (Varanasi, 1965), pl. VIII, X, IX.

37 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXVI-C; P.R. Ramachandra Rao, *Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā* (Madras, 1956), pl. XLVII.

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bust and its long end whose breadth spreads over her left hand—right from the shoulder to the waist—falls down from it exactly in the same manner as we see in the present-day style of sari-wearing. The folds on it are quite obvious, (*Fig. IV, 16*). However, the identification of the costume is not free from doubt. It may also simply be an upper-garment, *stanottarīya*, fully covering the front portion of the upper-body.

We see a different attire in the case of the princess Sītā represented in the panel[38] depicting the Daśaratha Jātaka. She wears a piece of cloth round her loins without any waist-band and any upper-garment (*Fig. IV, 17*), as seen in the case of the queen of Dighīti. But in this case, the *sārī* or *dhotī* worn round the waist is above the knees. The upper portion of the body is completely bare.

The exposition of the breasts in the sculptures need not reflect immodesty on the part of the women of those times as the manifestations of modesty are of most fluctuating character. What is considered quite permissible on one occasion can after some time be regarded as indecent. It appears that in ancient India, the Tamil women wore only lower garments, from the loins downwards to the ankles, while the upper portion of the waist remained completely bare.[39] The courtezans wore a piece of muslin which covered their body from the waist to the middle of the thigh. Because of its fine texture it hardly concealed their person.[40] The women of the hill tribes wore bunches of green leaves tied to a string round their waist.[41] Similarly the wives of the wandering ministrels called *Panars*, are described as perfectly nude.[42] In fact, nudity does not appear to have been indecent in ancient India.[43]

Nudity as seen in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā may be due to the artistic convention of the age as construed by Altekar. He says "the real explanation of women appearing without their bust being properly covered in the sculptures and paintings of the southern and central India, seems to be the artistic convention of the age. Breasts are the most significant symbol of motherhood, and the artists of the provinces probably felt that they may be shown uncovered in the works of art, though they may be normally concealed in an actual life under a bodice or a portion of the saris.[43a] This convention, he thinks, facilitated the task of fully exhibiting the beauty of the female form without suggesting any indecency and also gave the artist an opportunity to reveal the different ornaments worn on the chest and the shoulder.[44] Altekar refutes the argument of some authors who believe that the dress of the women of the Dravidian country was scanty, and in support of his argument he refers to the literary evidences from Hāla's *Gāthā Saptaśatī* which according to him, reflects the Dravidian life during the early centuries of the Christian era.[45]

38 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-a, Lower-panel.

39 *Kalith-thokai*, 111 & 115; vide also V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years ago* (Madras, 1904), Chapter IX. pp. 117.

40 *Chilappāthikaram*, VI. 88.

41 *Kurinchippaddu*, 102

42 *Pornar-arrup-padai*, 1.39.

43 Kanakasabhai, *op. cit.*, IX,pp. 118.

43a A.S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu* Civilization (Banaras, 1959), p. 344f.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 345.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 344.

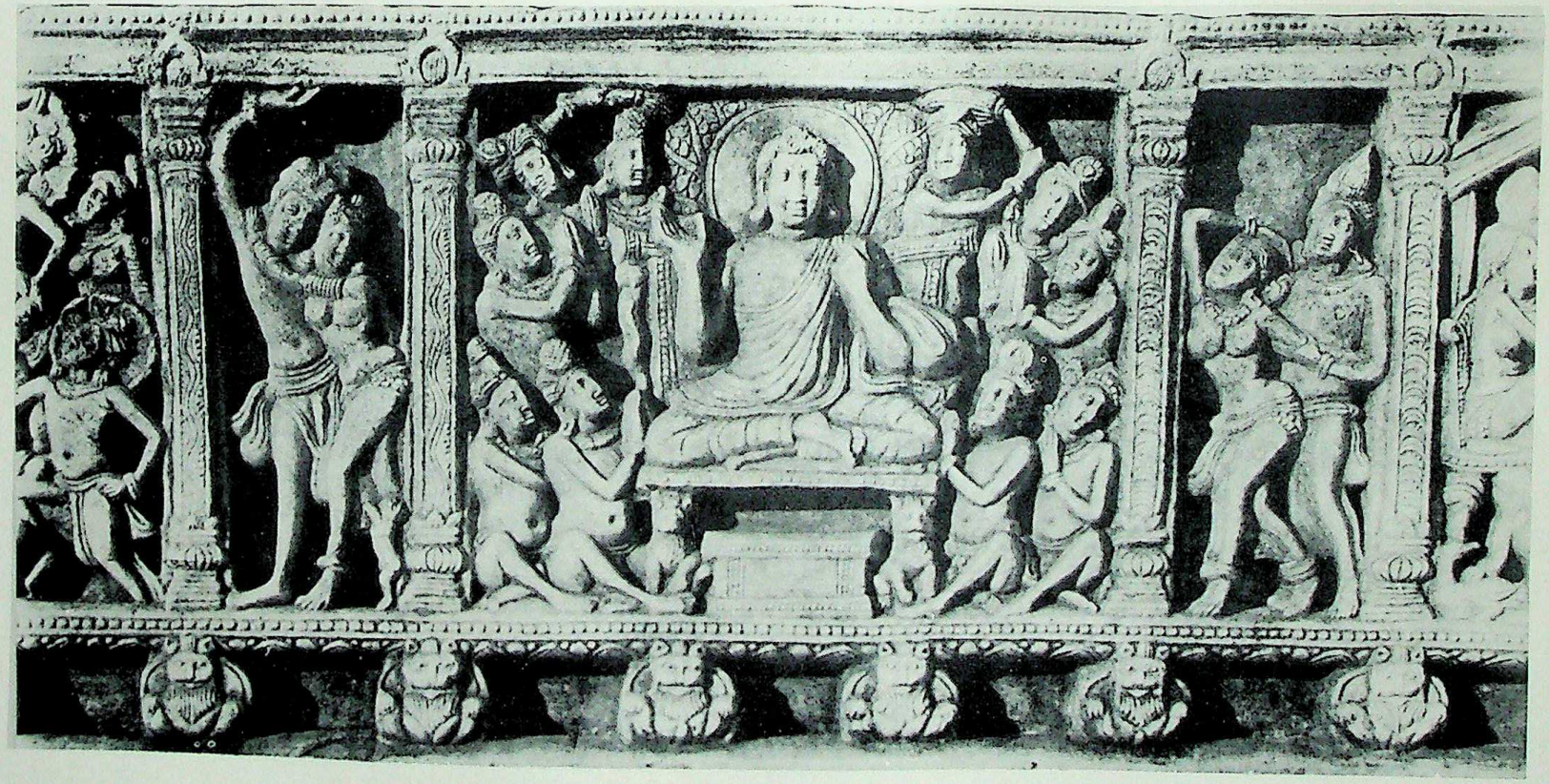

Plate IV Devas congratulating the Buddha after his enlightenment

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It would also not be unreasonable to imagine that in all probability, the breasts were covered with a thin diaphanous cloth scarcely visible to the naked eye.

COSTUMES OF PALACE AND COURT ATTANDANTS

(i) *Fly-Whisk Bearers : chaurī-bearers*

The *chaurī*-bearers being a favourite and a delightful theme of the Nāgārjuna-koṇḍā sculptor, are oft-delineated in the reliefs. Both male and female *chaurī* bearers appear; the females are more frequently represented. Generally, these *chaurī*-bearers are depicted either attending on a king or a queen—inside the palace (Longhurst, pls, XXI-a, XXXII-a, XXXIII-c); courts (Longhurst, pls. XX-a, XXXVI-b, XXXVIII-a, XLIII-a, XLV-a); or pleasure gardens (Longhurst, pl, XX-b) and temples (Longhurst, pl. XXI-a). The Buddha (Longhurst, pls, XXIII-a, XXIV-a) or the symbolic forms of the Buddha like the *cakra* or the *stūpa*, etc. (Longhurst, pl. XXIX-b) are also shown attended by the *chaurī*-bearers.

(a) *Female chaurī-bearers: cāmaradhāriṇī(s)*

The represented costume of the *cāmaradhāriṇīs* in these bas-reliefs is scanty and akin to that of the queens and princesses. Thus the two *cāmaradhāriṇīs* represented on either side of queen Māyā in the panel[46] illustrating 'the nativity and the seven steps', are shown scantily clad : one that is standing to the right of queen Māyā is shown wearing a decorated *langoṭī* with a *vastragranthi* in the front. Except for this, she is shown completely nude. She stands slothfully resting the *cāmara* (the fly-whisk) on her right shoulder as described later in Bāna's Kādambari.[47] Similar representations occur in the paintings of Ajanta and the carvings from Amaravati[48].

In another panel illustrating 'the presentation of the child at the Śākya temple' (Longhurst Pl. XXI-a) the *cāmaradhāriṇī* has a slight addition to her scanty dress. Here, of the two *chaurī*-bearers, one standing to the left of queen Māyā reveals a different dress. She wears a waist-band besides the usual decorated *langoṭī*. It is tied round her waist with its projecting loop from its knot on her left hip: no upper garment is to be seen.

The dress of the *cāmaradhāriṇīs* includes a decorated lower-garment often with a *vastragranthi* at the front and occasionally a waist-band tied round the loins. In all probability they wore disphanous clothes as can be surmised from one unidentified panel.[49] In no case an upper-garment is worn.

Since the *cāmaradhārinīs* are invariably shown attending on the kings and the queens, either indoor or outdoor, it indirectly suggests that the *cāmaras* or *chauries* were an appendage or the prerrogative of royalty. Similar delineation of

46 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-b.

47 *Kādambarī*, p. 28.

48 J. Griffith, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave of Ajanta*, i, (London, 1896), pl. 55; L. Herringham, *Ajanta ţ Frescoes* (Ind. Soc. Oxford, 1915), Pl. ix; Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures*, pl. V, fig.7.

49 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-c.

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cāmaradhāriṇīs attending on the royalty are not uncommon in the Suṅga, Sātavāhana or the and Mathura art.[50]

(b) *Male chauri-bearers* : *cāmaradhāra(s)*

The representation of the male *chaurī*-bearers in the reliefs compared to the female ones is much less. They are invariably depicted attending on the Buddha Bodhisattva, or the symbolic forms of the Buddha (Longhurst, pls. XXIII-a, XXIV-a, XXIV-c, XXIX-b etc.,). Since *chaurīs* or (*cāmaravījanis*) were a prerrogative of the kings the Buddha forbade their use for his monks.[51] But like the umbrellas they were freely used for religious purposes, and thus their representation, as if in the act of being waved, before *stūpas, cakras*, the *Buddha* etc., occur in the reliefs. As a deviation to this, in a panel illustrating 'the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*,' a male *chaurī*-bearer is depicted following Gautama with a *chaurī* in his hand.[52] This is the only example where the royalty is shown attended by a male *chaurī*-bearer.

Regarding the dress of the male *chaurī*-bearers the reliefs do not offer much information. However, an idea of their costume can be gathered from the panel[53] illustrating 'the gods exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to mankind.' Here two male *chaurī*-bearers—their *chaurīs* resting on their shoulder—are shown standing by the side of the Buddha. One of them is shown wearing a *langoṭī* secured by a *waist-band* : from it slings a long strip of cloth dangling in between his legs. Needless to say, his dress is exactly similar to that of the kings and princess depicted in the *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā* reliefs. In no case, any upper garment was worn.

(ii) *Fan bearers*

The fan-bearers, in addition to the *chaurī*-bearers, also get their portrature in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs. They appear holding the fan[54] (*tālavaṇṭa*) only on two occasions. The fan appears to have been woven of palm leaf strips or split bamboo. It has a square shape and a handle. The panel[55] depicting the Māndhātu Jātaka represents a female fan-bearer attending on the dying Māndhātu. It is difficult to make out the costume worn by her as it is not fully sculptured: the *langoṭī* worn by her is partially seen and her upper body is shown completely bare. A male fan-bearer is seen in the inscribed frieze-slab depicting the life scenes of the Buddha. In it a royal lover is shown holding a fan (*tālavaṇṭa*) of square shape similar to the one depicted in the hands of the female fan-bearer discussed above. But in this case the dresss worn by him can be seen. He is shown wearing a *langoṭī* over which is tied a *waist-band*

50 cf. Sanchi : Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 9, 11-b; Bharhut; pl. 31-d; Douglas Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, XVII, XXVI, XXXVI, XLIV,

51 *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 132, *Cullavagga*, V,23 and the note below.

52 Ramachandra Rao, *op, cit.*, pl. XLII.

53 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-a.

54 Fans made of bark, *uṣīra* grass or peacock feathers were also available in ancient India. The fans of this type containing mat-work intertwined with coloured silk or cotton cord are still made in India.

55 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-c; Similar fans occur in the carvings of Amaravati (Sivaramamurti, pl. XLVI, fig. 2, pl. V: fig. 34) and the paintings of Ajanta (Yazdani, (*Ajanta*, part II Oxford, 1933), pls. XLV-XLVI-a),

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The *waist-band* is having knots on both hips with projecting loops. A long strip of cloth hangs in between his legs from the *waist-band*. No upper-garment is worn by him.

(iii) *Umbrella*[56] *bearers*

Both male *chhattradhāras* and female (*chhattradhāriṇīs*) umbrella-bearers appear in the sculptures more than once; males are more frequently represented. Generally, the umbrella-par-excellence was only held over the king; in the case of princesses, too, invariably, the *chhattradhāriṇīs* carried the umbrella behind them. Thus these umbrella-bearers are depicted either attending on the king or the queen when they were inside the palace[57] or in their courts[58] or they are shown holding the umbrella over a *stūpa*[59] or in a procession[60]

(a) *Female umbrella-bearers : chhattradhāriṇī(s)*

At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the female umbrella-bearers appear only in two unidentified sculptures'. In both the cases the dress worn by them is not visible and as such nothing can be said about their dress.

(b) *Male umbrella bearers : chhattradhāra(s)*

The representations of the male umbrella-bearers when compared to those of the female ones are more. They are invariably depicted attending on the kings and princes during processions[61] and elsewhere on *stūpas*[62]. As described in the Jātakas[63], the umbrella-bearer, like the *chaurī*-bearer, accompanied kings or princes even while they rode on elephants during the processions. These umbrellas had also religious significance. They were held over the objects of worshipor reverence like the *bodhī* tree and the *stūpa*.

Regarding the dress of male umbrella-bearers the reliefs do not offer much information. However, an idea of the costume worn by the *chattradhara* can be had from the panel illustrating 'the *Bodhisattva* descending from the heaven in the form of a white elephant' (Longhurst, pl. XIX-b). Here a male is shown wearing a *lower-garment* secured by a *waist-band*; it is knotted on the right side with a projecting loop. A long piece of cloth slings from the *waist-band* in between the legs. It is a

56 For a detailed account of the umbrella see the note "*Umbrellas*" forming Appendix ii, by N.M. Penzer, in vol. II of the "*Ocean of Stories*", C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathāsarit-Sāgara*. See also Varāhamihira's description of royal umbrella; *Bṛhat* Saṁhitā, ed. by V. Subrahmanya Sastry, vol. III, Bangalore (1947).ch. 72, pp. 589ff.

57 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-b.

58 *Ibid.*, pl. XLI-a.

59 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-a.

60 *Ibid.*, pls. XIX-b, XXVIII-c and L.

61 *Ibid.*, pls. L-a, XXVIII-c, XIX-b.

62 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-b.

63 *J.*, V, No. 531, p. 162.

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dress exactly similar to that of the kings and princes depicted in the *Nāgārjunakoṇḍā* reliefs.

One interesting feature of these *chattradharas* is that nowhere in the sculptures they are depicted with an *uttarīya* as noticed in the case of the *cāmaradharas.*

Apparently the costume of a *chattradhara* portrayed in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures includes the *langoṭī*, often fastened to a *waist-band*, and from which dangled a long piece of cloth in between the legs. No upper garment was worn by them.

(iv) *Standard bearers*

Three sculptures illustrating 'the decorated Āndhra *Stūpa*' (Longhurst, pl. XI-c), 'the gift of earth' (Longhurst, pl. XXXV-b) and 'the Daśaratha Jātaka' (Longhurst, pl. XLV-a) reveal standard-bearers. Generally they are seen holding the standard either after or before the presence of royalty.[64] These banners of extreme importance in a battle, were held by the standard-bearer. The standard held over a *stūpa* in the panel depicting 'the decorated *stūpa*' (Longhurst, pl. XI-c) resembles very much those depicted at Amaravati[65] and Sanchi.[66] The standard, like all other royal emblems, were also used for religious purposes. One noteworthy feature of the standard-bearers depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures is that they are exclusively males and the dress worn by them is precisely similar to that worn by the depicted kings or princes in the reliefs. Thus the standard-bearers depicted in the panel representing 'the decorated Āndhra *Stūpa*' (Longhurst XI-c) wear a *langoṭī* over which is tied the waist-band or *Kamarabandha* with its knot either on the left or the right hip and a long piece of cloth dangles in between their legs. In the panel revealing 'the gift of the earth', another standard-bearer is shown wearing a *langoṭī* and an *uttarīya* which pass across the body and coil around the left shoulder. His dress more or less resembles that of a monk. In the story he is stated to follow, with the standard, the childern of the royal house. Except in this case nowhere else the standard-bearer has an *uttarīya.*

(v) *Torch bearers*

Two panels illustrating 'renunciation or going forth' (Longhurst, pl. XXVIII-c) and 'the Bodhisattva descending from the heaven in the form of a white elephant' (Longhurst, pl. XIX-d) have representations of the torch-bearers. The dress of the torch-bearer depicted in the panel revealing 'renunciation or Going forth' includes a *lower-garment* over which is tied a *waist-band* with its knot on the left hip : from the knot a loop projects and a piece of cloth in between the legs can also be seen.

64 *Dīgha Nikāya*, 1, p. 68 ii, 14.

65 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 3 and 4.

66 M.K. Dhavalikar, *Sanchi : A Cultural Study, Poona.* 1965, fig. 64.

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(vi) *Guards*

The sword-bearer (*khaḍgavāhinī*); the usher (*pratīhārī*); and the door-keeper (*dauvārika*) are all in a manner of speaking, treated as the king's aides-de-camp or bodyguards and are often repeated in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. These, though by the very nature of their profession, belong to a lower-class, exhibit a somewhat dignified dress and appearance in contrast to the rest of the commonalty who had nothing to do with the royal courts. Perhaps, this may be due to their being in constant touch with the aristocratic circles and due to their royal surroundings. As a result of this, we find that in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, the depiction of the dress of the guards is quite similar to that of the royal members.

(vii) *Sword bearers : khaḍgavāhini(s)*

We find a sword-bearer (*khaḍgavāninī*) depicted in the panel illustrating 'a prince in the palace' (Longhurst, Pl. XXX-a) wearing an *adhovastra* with its *nīvībandha* in the front. The waist-band tied over it is distinctly visible. Exactly similar dress is noticed in the *khaḍgavāhinī* depicted in the panel representing the Māndhātu Jātaka, (Longhurst, Pl. XLIII-b). It is interesting to note that in both the cases the *stanottarīya* is absent. Depictions of such *khaḍgavāhinis*, female personal attendants of the kings or princes, bearing a sword on their shoulders are plenty in the contemporary Amaravati sculptures.[67] According to Kauṭilya most of the royal attendants especially the body-guard, consisted of Amazons; the sculptures tend to confirm this.

(viii) *Ushers : pratīhār(s)*

Closely akin to the sword-bearer is the figure of the usher (*pratīhārī*), an amazon guard, found at the inner door-way of the royal palaces. Supposedly, permission to meet the king was to be sought of them. A *pratīhārī*, an amazon with a huge sword dangling by means of a strap at her left hip and depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculpture[68] goes well with their description given by Bāṇa[69] in his *Kādambarī*.

She is seen wearing a *langotī* whose *nīvībandha* can be seen in the front. At times the *langoṭī* was fastened by means of a *Kamarabandha* (Longhurst, pl. XXX-a; Ramachandran, XXX-b). Similar *pratīhāris* are also met with in the contemporary Amaravati sculptures.[70] As can be seen, in no case the *pratīhārī* wears a *stanottarīya*.

(ix) *Door-keepers* : *dauvārika(s)*

The door-keepers or *dauvārikas* depicted in the panel illustrating the Śibi Jātaka (Longhurst, pl. XLII-a) are exclusively males and are shown near the apartment where the king sits in the court. The dress worn by them is again akin to the

67 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. iii, fig. 2.

68 For figure, see Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, fig. 11.

69 *Kādambarī*, p. 15.

70 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V. fig. 9.

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Chhattradharas or *Cāmaradharas* depicted in the reliefs. The door-keepers in the present case are shown wearing a *langoṭī* fastened by means of a *Kamarabandha.* A long piece of cloth hangs down in between their legs. The bands on the *Kamarabandha* are quite clear. The door-keepers, as mentioned by Kauṭilya[71] in his *Arthaśāstra* hold a spear and a club.

(x) *Kañchukin*

There is a solitary delineation of what appears to be that of a *Kañchukin* in the sculptures. The panel illustrating 'the admission of the six *śākya* princes and the barber Upālī to the Order' (Longhurst, Pl. XXXIV-b) depicts an old man, resembling the *Kañchuki*, in the midst of six *śākya* princes. He is shown resting on the staff on account of his old-age and watching the proceedings of the conversion of the princes. From his peculiar high-topped turban, long staff, and care-worn face he should be none else than a *Kañchukī.* But unfortunately, in this case, the long shirt which generally the *Kañchukī* wears cannot be made out as he is mostly covered, in the sculpture, by the foreground comprising barber Upālī.

However, the portrayal of the *kañchukis* in the early art is not uncommon. Contemporary Amaravati[72] sculptures abound in representations of the *kañchukis.* In ancient Sanskrit literature he is always described as an old man, in white apparel, silver haired and with a faltering voice. He is always moving about in the harems and palaces with the help of his long staff which is the sign of old-age.[73] In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* it is mentioned that the attendants of the inner-appartments, *abhyāgārikas* led by the *kañchuki* were the first to see the king when he woke up in the morning.[74]

The other possible identification of him may be that of a *vidūṣaka.*

COSTUMES OF SOLDIERS

The soldiers depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures broadly fall into two categories, namely, the foreign and the local. This classification may be made with a reasonable amount of certainty from the dress they wear. The foreign soldiers distinguish themselves with their dresses which are altogether different and alien to the native ones.

The foreign influence noticed in the Kṛishṇā valley can very well be explained by referring to the discovery, during the recent excavations, of the Roman coins of Tiberius, Faustina,[75] and Augustus. The discovery of structures like an arena[76] that very much resembles the Roman theatres of the early centuries of the christian era alongwith the carvings of the Śaka or Scythian warriors on the pillars[77] and walls of the secular edifices, all, confirm existance of foreign influences in the valley.

71 Shamasastry, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

72 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, fig. 14.

73 *Śākuntalam*, Act. V. 3, p. 192.

74 *Arthaṣāstra*, text, p. 42.

75 *Indian Archaeology—A Review*; 1956-57, p. 38, pl. LX, C & D.

76 *Ibid.*, 1957-58, pp. 5 & 6, pls. II & III.

77 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. X-c.

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The epigraphical records discovered on the spot also, to a great extent, tend to confirm this.

In this connection it is noteworthy to recall the inscription on a foot-print slab[78] which records the gift of the sister of a Śaka or a Scythian. Indubitably the hectic sea-borne trade between Europe, especially the Roman Empire, and South India brought the Roman soldiers into the service of the local rulers. This trade received a tremendous impetus during the rule of Augustus which was almost contemporaneous to the time of execution of the reliefs under consideration here. Further, the classical writers also record the visits of Roman merchants to India and their settlements in the country as well.[79] With them might have come a considerable number of Scythian soldiers, alongwith their high officials, to the Kṛishṇā valley and these may possibly have settled there.

If this presumption is correct, we can find an easy explanation of the striking anamoly that we have percieved while discussing the scanty costumes of the kings. The ministers who are invariably seen in tunics, in contrast to the less clad kings, in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs were possibly intermediaries acting between the native kings and the foreign officials. In all probability, the constant touch of these intermediaries with the foreign officials would have resulted in their lmitation of the foreign dresses. All this would explain the representation of foreign influences at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

Thus on one of the five ornate pillars of the royal palace[80] is revealed a bearded soldier, obviously, he is a Scycthian warrior. He is shown wearing a helmet, a quilted full-sleeved coat or a tunic, and tight fitting trousers : he is seen holding a heavy spear (*Fig*: *1V*, *18*). This full sleeved coat is essentially a central Asian garment worn by the Scythian since a very early period before the dawn of the Christian era. In India it possibly came with the Scythians in the Kushāṇa period. This long coat according to Dr. Agrawala, as pointed out earlier, is the *chīnacholaka* type of a garment.

Again, in the panel illustrating the war scene (Longhurst, Pl. XXXIII-b) a soldier riding a horse is shown in a foreign dress. He is wearing a long sleeved tunic over a tight fitting trouser. Just behind this soldier can also be seen another foot-soldier who is wearing a long sleeved and a round necked coat. He also wears a helmet.

The panel illustrating the Mahāpaduma Jātaka (Longhurst, Pl. XLV-b) depicts a soldier in a different dress. He is shown wearing a half-sleeved tunic and a helmet. (*Fig. III*, *19*). His lower-garment is not clearly visible. This half-sleeved tunic is a new introduction. From the very nature of its sleeves which end above the elbows the garment can be identified as a *kūrpāsaka*. According to Dr. Agrawala it is once again of central Asian origin.[81] This garment does not appear to have taken much

78 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 37; See Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

79 K.A. Nilakantha Sastri (Ed.)., *The Mauryas and the Satavahanas* (Bombay, 1957), p. 440; also see K.R. Subramanyan, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra, between 225 & 610 A.D.*, (Madras, 1932), p. 134; A.H. Bunbary, *A History of Ancient Geography* (1959) Part I, Chapter I and W.W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (London, 1951,) pp. 370-371.

80 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 11, pl. X-c.

81 Agrawala, *op. cit.*, vol. 57, p. 326.

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time to appear on the Indian scene as some men in the earlier group of paintings at Ajanta[82] and in the reliefs of Sanchi[83] are shown wearing it. Later it became very common in the Gupta period[84] and still continues to be worn by villagers in Maharashtra where it is known as *koparī* (in Marāṭhī), a name that has obviously been derived from the Sanskrit *kūrpāsaka.*

A different kind of a dress on a soldier can be seen in the panel depicting 'king kappina's conversion' (Longhurst, Pl. L-a). If our surmise that he is wearing a loose coat of *chīna-cholaka* variety is correct, we may deduce that it is a cloak secured at the neck; it generally falls loosely on the back. Agrawala identifies this cloak as an *āchchhādanaka* which is referred to in the *Harṣacarita.*[85]

Some of the soldiers depicted in a panel showing the village scene (Ramachandran, Pl. XXX-A) are undoubtedly foreigners as is evident from their tyical conical caps. Since they are not fully visible in the panel nothing can be made out about their dresses.

We have only a few delineated examples of native soldiers, in the reliefs. We find them in a dress which is similar to that of the royal attendants. The panels illustrating the war scene (Longhurst, Pl. XXXIII-b); Mahāpaduma Jātaka (Longhurst, Pl. XLV-b);Dighīti Kosala Jātaka (Longhurst, Pl. XLVII-a) and King Kappina's Conversion (Longhurst, Pl. L-a) offer representations of the native soldiers. They are shown wearing a *langoṭī* over which is tied a *waist-band.* The other details are the same as described earlier

COSTUMES OF COMMON PEOPLE

Even the scanty information that can be culled out from the available material shows that in the matter of dress hardly any disparity can be seen between the higher and lower classes, either in the articles of dress or in the mode of wearing them. If any difference between the attire of these classes really existed it must have been in the material. Evidently it is impossible to note such differences from the sculptures.

(i) *The Brahmins*

However, an idea about the attire of the Brahmins can be had from the panel illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka (Longhurst, Pl. XXXVIII-b). In this panel a brahmin is shown wearing a long piece of cloth tied round the waist and passed between the legs in the manner of a *langoṭī.* In another panel, representing the Māndhātu Jātaka (Longhurst, Pl. XXXIX-b), a brahmin[86] is depicted sitting on a stool near the couch of the king. He wears an *uttarīya* and a *langoṭī* (*Fig. III, 3a*). We are shown a group of brahmins in the panel depicting 'a king denouncing Brahmanism'

82 G. Yazdani, *Ajanta* (Oxford, 1946), pl. 111, pl. XXX.

83 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, fig. 13.

84 Cf. N.P. Joshi, *Life in Ancient Uttarāpatha* (*Material Civilisation of Northern India from circa 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. as revealed by the sculptures, terracottas and coins*), Lucknow, 1967, p. 164, fig. 499.

85 Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

86 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

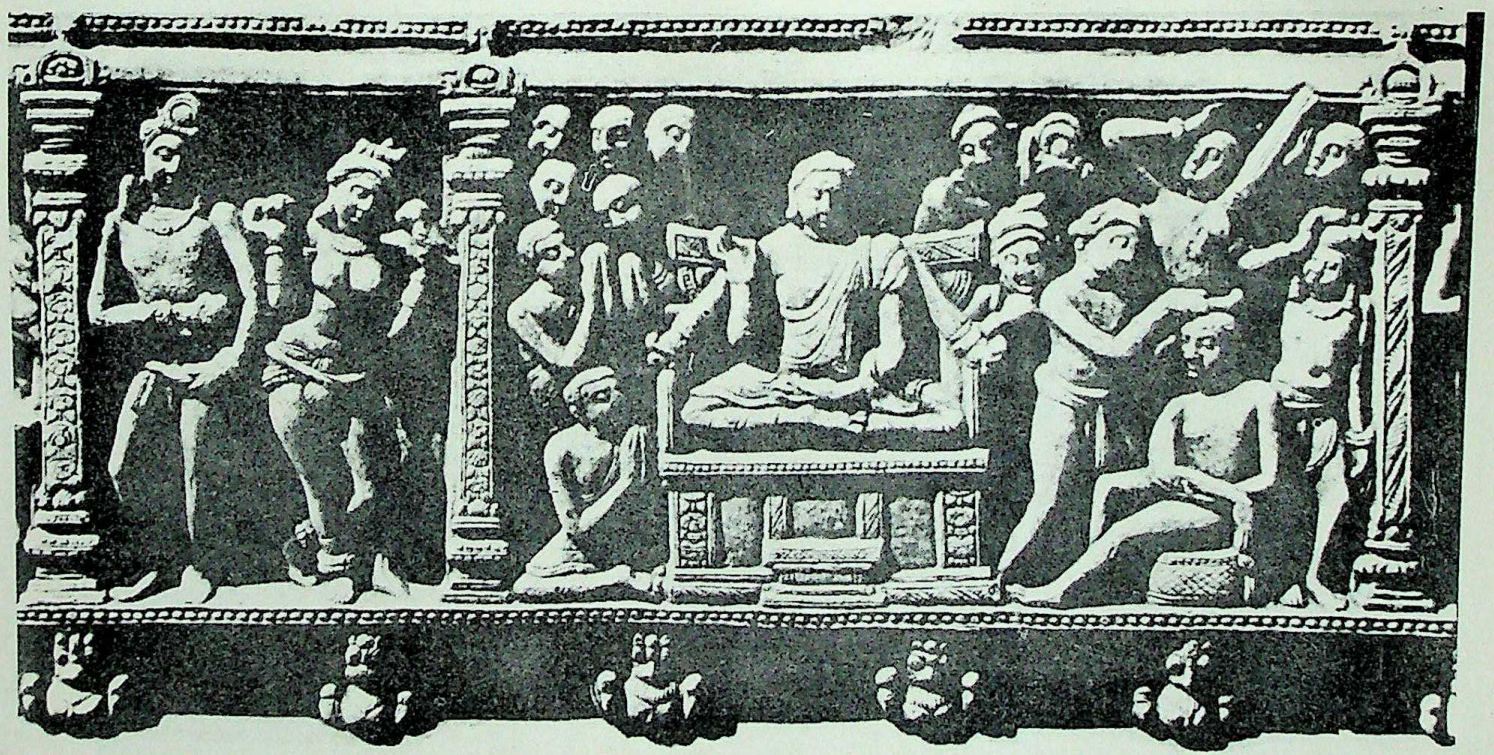

Plate V The admission of the Six Sakya Princes and the Barber Upali to the Order

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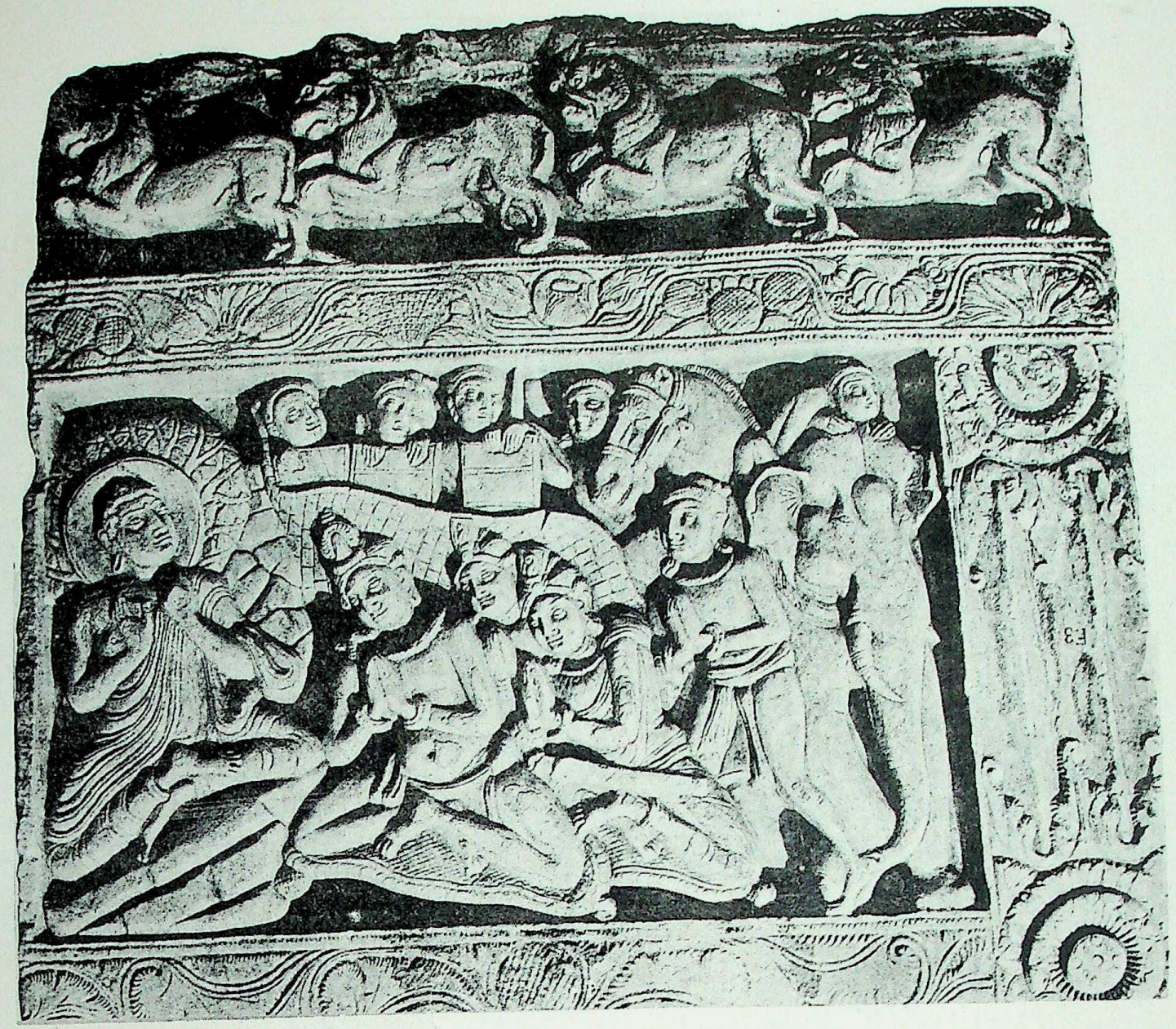

Plate VI King Kappina's Conversion

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(Longhurst, Pl. XXXI-a). They are shown wearing a lower-garment fastened by means of a waist-band. A long strip of cloth hangs in between the legs from it. Thus, in general, the dress of a brahmin consisted of a *langoṭī*— at times secured by a waist-band— and an upper-garment. A different dress is worn by a brahmin in the panel depicting the Vessantara jātaka. He is shown wearing a short dhoti round his waist in the *vikachha* fashion. He is also wearing an *uttarīya* which crosses the body and passes on to his left shoulder. More or less a similar dress is worn by the brahmin depicted in the panel representing the same Jātaka in the Goli sculptures.[87]

(ii) *Mahuts and Grooms*

The dress of the *māhaut* (*hastipaka*) was simple, and comprised a *langoṭī*—at times fastened with a waist-band.[88] But invariably he wore a cap.

In the case of the grooms we see the usage of a tunic among their lower class. One interesting feature of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures is that in the case of the ministers the worn tunic was never shown alone or over a *langoṭī*. Always it is accompanied by a *dhoti* or a pyjama. We have three representations of the groom (Longhurst, Pls. XXI-b, XXVIII-c and XIV-b). In all of these he is shown without a *dhoti* or a pyjama. It is therefore quite probable that inside the tunic the groom wore a *langoṭī*. A waist-band is also seen tied, at times, round his waist with its knot at the front (Longhurst, Pl. XXVIII-c). An ideal representation of this class is delineated in Channa the groom and the charioteer of prince Siddhārtha. The dress worn by him is a short-tailed shirt resembling a Roman tunic.

(iii) *Barbers*

The dress of a barber is seen in a representations in the panels illustrating 'the admission of the six Śākya princes and the barber Upālī to the order (Longhurst, Pl. XXXIV-b), (PL-V)., and king Kappina's conversion (Longhurst, L-a). The barber is shown wearing a *langoṭī* over which has been tied a *kamarabandha*. One of the *Kamarabandha* end dangles in between his legs at the front (PL.VI).

We find the same dress in a group of persons engaged in conversation in an unidentified panel (Longhurst, Pl. XXVII-a). All of them wear an *adhovastra* except the two, who, in addition to it, wear an *uttarīya* to cover their upper body. They are also shown wearing an *antarīya* and a waist-band.

(iv) *Pilgrims*

A slight departure is made from this practice in representing the dress of pilgrims. The group of pilgrims revealed in the panel portraying 'the Buddha protected by the Nāga king Muchalinda' (Longhurst, pl. XXXI-c) wear short *dhotis* these extend down to the knees and are seen worn in the *vikaccha* fashion. They also wear an *uttarīyas* (*Fig. III, 2*).

(v) *Villagers*

From the panels it is clear that the villagers also wore almost similar dress.

87 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, Golī sculptures, pl. V-B-D.

88 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XIX-b, XXII-b; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, XLVIII.

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The ideal representation of the villagers dress is depicted on the *stūpa* slab from site 5 (Ramachandran, Pl. XXX-b). Here they are shown wearing short *dhotis*—extending up to the knees. A waist-band is invariably tied round the waist. From it slings a piece of cloth in between the legs. But in no case they are shown wearing an upper-garment.

The *dhoti* can be identified as *ardhoruka*[89], it is frequently referred to in literature, and is characteristic of the early period as is evident from its representation at Amaravati[90] and Sanchi[91]. An interesting feature of the *dhoti* which was worn by men of all classes, is that it extends down below the kness in case of men belonging to royalty and nobility, while in the case of the men of the lower classes it ends just above the knees.

(vi) *Cow-herds, Hunters, Cart-men and Merchants*

The cowherds depicted in the panels of Campeyya Jātaka (Ramachandra Rao, Pl. XLIII) and 'Sagata and the Nāga of the Mango-Ferry' (Longhurst, Pl. XLVIII-b) are shown wearing *langoṭis* and waist-bands in the same way as often described earlier. They also wear turbans (Longhurst, Pl. XLVIII-b). The dress of a hunter as revealed in the reliefs[92] included a *langoṭī* with or without an *uttarīya*. There is a solitary representation of a cartman in the panel illustrating 'Trapusha and Bhallika visiting the Buddha,' from which an idea of a cartman's dress can be gathered. He is shown wearing a *langoṭī* etc., as described above. Except this, he is bare.

In the panels illustrating 'the offering of food' and 'the Buddha after the Enlightment,' merchants are represented as wearing a similar dress to that of a cartman or a brahmin.

(vii) *Wrestlers*

An idea of the dress worn by a wrestler in the Ikshvāku period can be had from a sculpture[93] where two such wrestlers are shown in action. Both of them are depicted with a *langoṭī*. Except for this, they are bare.

(viii) *Monks or ascetics*

As already seen a large settlement of the Buddhists flourished, during this period, in the Kṛishṇā valley, thus, naturally, representations of their monks abound in the sculptures. In depicting them, the sculptors have shown a remarkable uniformity, regarding their attire, which is in strict conformity with the injunctions enjoined by it in the Buddhist scriptures. They are shown wearing a long dhoti, reaching the ankles; worn in the *vikaccha* fashion and, with this, an upper-garment covering the upper body was all that constituted their simple attire.

89 *Amara*, p. 158.
90 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit*,, pl. XVIII, 1.
91 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.
92 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI-b, XXVII-c.
93 *IAR*, 1957-58. pl. VI-A, 1.

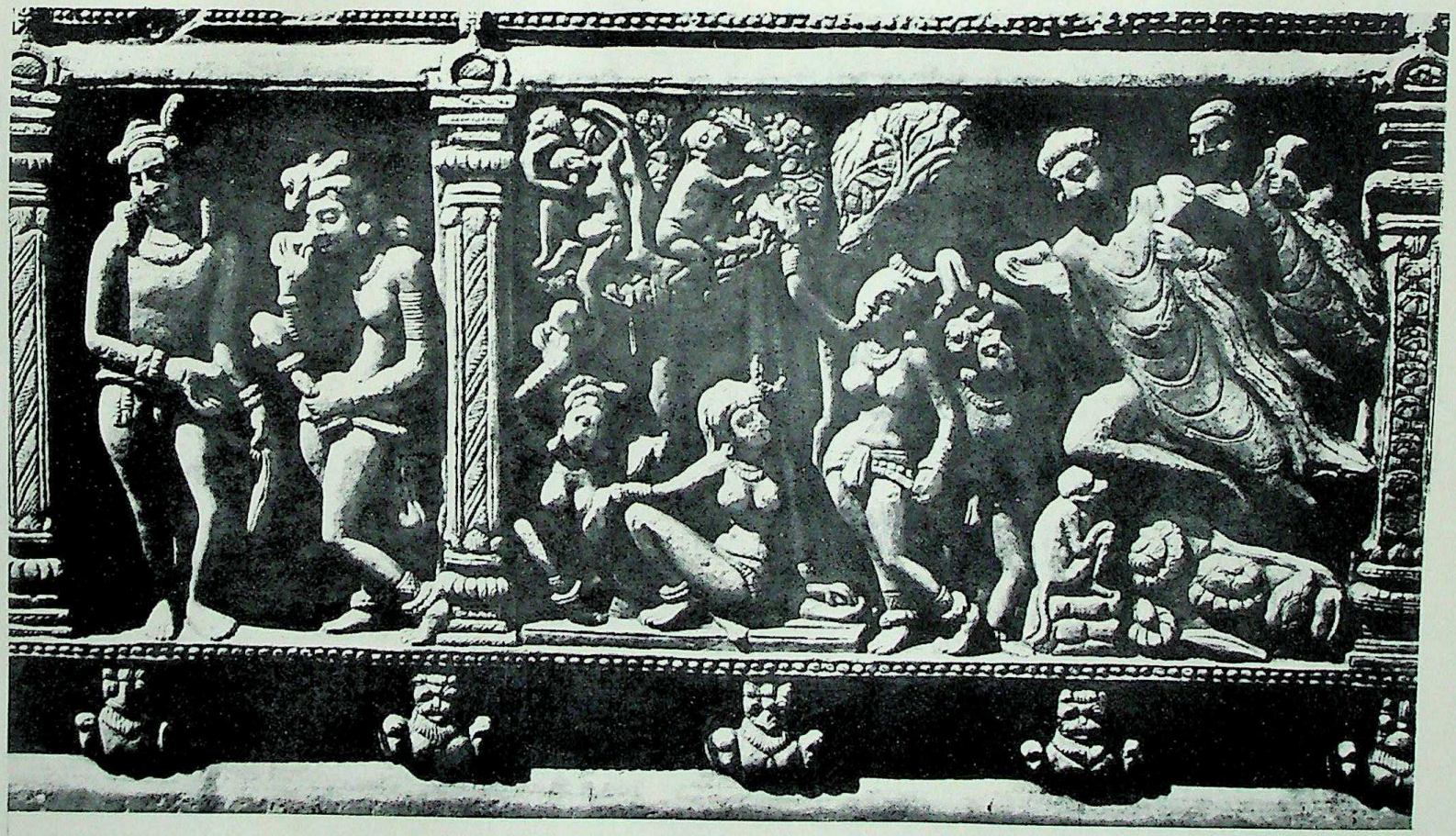

Plate VII The Buddha and Nanda on a visit to Heaven

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The Buddhist texts prescribe three garments—*(tīcīvaram)* or the *sanghāṭi, antarāvāsaka* and *uttarāsaṅga*—for the *bhikkhus* or monks[94]. However, the *antarāvāsaka*—"a sort of waist coat"[95] —worn as a substitute to the shirt is absent in these panel representations. According to the scriptures the *sanghāṭi* was to be worn without taking the pleated end behind. Here the sculptor was meticulous in depicting the monk's dress and showed them invariably wearing the *sanghāṭi* in the round or *vikaccha* fashion. The *uttarāsaṅga* was a robe which was worn on the upper body so as to cover one or both the shoulders. We find this universally used by the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā monks.

Thus in the panel illustrating 'the novice Sumana and the Nāga king Pannaka', (Longhurst, Pl. XXXVII-a) Sumana is shown with a long *dhoti* and an *uttariya.* Exactly the same garments are worn by Sagata in the panel illustrating 'Sagata and Nāga of the mango ferry' (Longhurst, Pl. XLVIII-b). Sagata is shown wearing the *dhoti* in the *vikaccha* fashion (*Fig. IV, 20*). Again in the panel illustrating 'the Buddha and Nanda on a visit to heaven' (Longhurst, Pl. XXXV-a) Nanda is seen wearing the *dhoti* in a similar fashion (Pl.VII). A full view of the monk's dress is revealed in the panel illustrating 'the Sagata and the Nāga of the mango ferry' (Longhurst, Pl. XLVIII-b). Here a group of monks who offer comprehensive view of their dress is depicted (*Fig. IV, 21*).

The *uttariya*, in most cases, passed across the body with one end coiling round the left shoulder, it was thrown back over it[96]. An instance where both the shoulders are seen covered with a piece of cloth is met with in the sculpture. (Ramachandran, Pl. V2) (*Fig. IV, 22*). The way in which they wear the upper-cloth tends to show it more as blanket than merely an upper-cloth or an *uttarīya.* Moreover, the use of the blankets by the monks was not prohibited by the Buddha. He had permitted the use of *Kauśeya prāvāra* or silken[97] *chaḍḍar* to the *bhikkus.* It is stated in the *Mahāvagga* that the blankets were made from *kṣauma*, wool.[98] But nowhere *āyogapāṭṭa,* a piece of cloth passed round both the legs and tied at the back, allowed to the *bhikkhus*, can be seen in the sculptures. The representations of the Buddha in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures are, throughout, uniform and his dress in these consists of a *sanghāṭi* and an *uttārāsaṇga.* As can be seen, in a majority of

94 *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 13, 4-5.

95 Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*, p. 38.

96 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, L-b. XLV-b; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, XLVIII, IV.

97 *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 36.

98 A. Stein discovered some ancient coloured rugs with swastika and stupa like designs from Niya, a place where the Kharoshthi documents were discovered (*Ancient Khotan*, 1907), p. 334; cf. F.H. Andrews, *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities from Central Asia* (1935), p. 19. But it is much more interesting to note that the Indian word *kambala* (blanket) so often referred to in the Khotanese texts as a loan word, is altogether absent from the Niya documents which refer to the existence of various other rugs as Kojava, Akshdha, Avale, Aravaj, Razi etc. (Prof. Pryzluski takes *kambala* (blanket) and *simbali* and *simbala* (silk-cotton tree) in Pali and *Salmoli* and *salmala* in Sanskrit as Austric loan word to the Indo-Aryan (*Pre-Aryan and Dravidians* in India, ed. Bagchi, pp. 6-8).

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cases, the *uttarīya* is shown covering the left shoulder, except in the sculpture illustrating 'the Buddha Dīpankara's prediction regarding Gautama Buddha' (Longhurst, Pl. XXXIV-a), where the Buddha is shown having the *uttarīya* covering the right shoulder which is a rare depiction. In some other cases, too, the *uttarīya* is seen covering both the shoulders[99].

As a deviation, to the earlier described dress of the monks, two examples come from the sculptures. These are revealed in 'the first sermon in the deer park at Sārnāth' (Longhurst, Pls. XXIV-a, XXIX-b). Here, instead of the usual garments, namely *sanghāṭi* and *uttarāsanga*, a short garment round the waist extending only down to the knees is to be seen. However, the difference it seems does not lie so much in the articles themselves as in the material of which they are made. The garments appear to have been made of numerous strips attached vertically to the narrow belt that runs down the waist. It gives an appearance of the garment made of bark (*Fig. IV, 23, 24*). But the fact that the use of such garments was forbidden to the Buddhist monks makes it improbable. Although one thing may be noted in favour of this identification : in the panel which illustrates 'the first sermon' such garments are shown used by the five ascetics who were not yet converted to the Buddhist doctrine.

The panel illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka (Longhurst, Pl. XLV-a) shows how the princely dress was discarded when any prince, willingly or through force of circumstances, embraced ascetic life. In the lower panel, and towards the left Rāma is depicted coming out of the city-gate with his sister Sītā. Here they are shown completely in a different dress. Rāma wears a piece of cloth tied round the waist by a narrow belt and extending not below the knees. The *uttarīya* is, however, retained. His head is bare (*Fig. IV, 25*). Likewise Sītā is shown with a narrow piece of cloth round the waist but the body above is completely bare. In the upper panel Sītā appears once again but here she is shown wearing a *stanottirīya*.

In the panel illustrating 'the Dighītikosala Jātaka (Longhurst, Pl. XLVII-a) a royal couple is depicted—the king Dighīti of Kosala and his wife—they are being taken to the place of execution by some soldiers on the orders of the King of Benaras. The unfortunate royal couples are deprived of their royal dress and each is seen wearing a piece of cloth tied round the waist and extending a little below the knees. Their hands are tied behind their backs with a band of cloth. It is interesting to note that the whole scene took place when the royal couple was living in a forest in disguise.

99 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLVII-a, XLIV-a, XLIX-a and L-b.

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FOUR

Personal Ornaments

Love of personal ornamentation is inherent in mankind: to this, people of the Kṛishṇā valley were not an exception. The bas-reliefs depict both males and females, irrespective of their status in the society, wearing ornaments. Apparently, the ornaments used by the aristocracy and by the commoners appear alike : perhaps they differed in the material with which they were made.

"So happy is the architecture of the human form," says Hiler "that the very places where the ornament naturally fitted were probably the best of all places which could have been found".[1] These places generally are the forehead, the ear, the nose, the neck, the arm, the wrist, the fingers, the thigh, the hips and the leg. To these places are added sometimes the junction of the thorax and the abdomen and the breasts. This order has been followed here while studying the different ornaments of the body sculptured in the reliefs.

HEAD-ORNAMENTS : MASTAKA SOBHANA(S)

As most of the male and female figures depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures wear head-dresses no separate ornaments for the head can be detected save what appears on a head-dress itself. Though the head-dress was put on mainly for the purposes of protection the Kṛishṇā valley people seem to have regarded it also as an item for decoration.[2] This is even apparent at a cursory glance of the sculptures. Thus, besides being a protection for the head, they regarded the head-dress as an ornament of the head—a *mastakābharaṇa* or *mastakabhūṣaṇa*.

(i) *Head-band : agrapaṭṭa* or *lalāṭapaṭṭa*

Of the various devices, that embellished the head-dress, the head-band or *agra* or *lalāṭapaṭṭa* deserves special attention. Being in usage by both the sexes and conspicuous by occupying the forehead it gives a pleasing variety as regards its material

1 Hiler, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

2 The ornamental devices like fillets, bands, strings of pearls, jewels, discs, bosses etc., that decorated the head-dress and hair of both the male and females have been dealt with under the chapter "Coiffure and head-dresses".

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and mode of making. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures portray two types in this ornament : firstly the *agrapaṭṭa* as an integral part of the head-dress and secondly, as a separate ornament.

(a) *Agrapaṭṭa as an integral part of the head-dress*

As an integral part of the head-dress this ornament was generally of a strip of thin material, either of cloth or metal, and was decorated with one (as in the case of males) or two (as in the case of females) rows of pearls, gems, or beads. The use of this head-band with a pendant hanging from its centre, as could be seen from the sculptures, appears to be the exclusive privilege of the females. Among the fair sex even its usage is restricted to the members of the higher strata of society like princesses,[3] and amorous couples[4] etc. Thus, the *agrapaṭṭa* worn by the princess Yaśodharā sitting near prince Siddhārtha, in the panel illustrating 'the prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden',[5] consists of two rows of closely set pearls or beads with a pendant hanging from the centre on the forehead (*Fig. V, 1*). Sometimes, the *lalāṭapaṭṭa*, devoid of a pendant (*Fig. V, 1-a*) also adorned the head-dress of the damsels of the high class society as can be known from the ornament worn by queen Māyā.[6] This type of a head-band, being the most favoured ornament, also appears in the head-dress of the female attendants in the reliefs. But when it is seen worn by a female attendant it is invariably devoid of the pendant that elsewhere hangs from the centre on to the forehead. Evidently, exclusive patronage of a head-band with the pendant by the royal females and the conspicuous absence of this variety of the pendant in the case of the head-bands seen in use by the female attendant is indicative of the poor status that the latter enjoyed in the society. The two panels illustrating 'prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden'[7] and 'a *chakravartin* surrounded by seven jewels'[8] depict female attendants wearing the *lalāṭapaṭṭa* as an integral part of the head-dress but these, too, are without pendants.

This type of ornament was also used by the males as is evident from the reliefs, but in a different manner. In this case, the head-band consisted of a single row of beads decorating the lower fringe or skirt of the head-dress and was without a pendant. This ornament is also seen worn by the gods and *yakshas* (Longhurst, Pls. XXVI-b and XLIV-c); by the flying celestials (Ramachandran Pl. VI), by dwarfs (Longhurst, Pl. XXVII-a) etc. As would appear from the sculptures, this type of ornament seems to be the most favoured and popular ornament during the Ikshvāku period. This popularity and profuse use of the ornament is attested by its multiple

3 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-a.

4 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-b. The amorous couples have been grouped under aristocracy for the purposes of comparison as they wore dress and ornament similar to that of the royal members.

5 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-a.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-b; cf. fig. 1.

7 *Ibid.*, XXXVI-b.

8 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-b.

Plate VIII Gods Exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to Mankind

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depictions in a single panel illustrating 'gods exhorting the Buddha[9] to proclaim his doctrine to mankind' (PL. VIII). Interestingly, the royal attendants[10] are also found using the *agrapaṭṭa* with a band of one row of beads decorating the lower fringes of their head-dress, this points to its unrestricted use.

A slight deviation in an above type of the ornament is to be seen in the one shown decorating the head-dresses of a Nāga attendant and a general. In the case of the former, as depicted in the panel revealing 'the Buddha protected by the serpant king Muchalinda at Gaya',[11] the head-ornament consists of two bands instead of one as noticed in the above examples and is decorated with a row of pearls or beads (*Fig. V, 8*). Again, a general depicted in the panel[12] illustrating 'a king denouncing Brahmanism' seems to indicate a head-band consisting of a band decorated with two rows of pearls instead of one row which is usually the case with the type of the ornament under discussion. Thus, but for these two slight deviations, the ornament is treated in the sculptures with an absolute uniformity.

(b) *Agrapaṭṭa as a detached ornament*

Depiction of the head-band as a detached ornament occurs more than once in the sculptures : but, when compared to the variety which is an integral part of the head-dress, the frequency of its depiction is apparently much less. However, the head-band as a detached ornament had a restricted use and was confined only to women as it would appear from the sculptures. As a detached ornament it consisted of one or more strings of pearls, gems, or simple beads instead of the strip of cloth as found in the case of those head-bands that form an integral part of the head-dress. In addition there was one more variety—a head-band of lockets with pendants.

An *agrapaṭṭa* as a detached ornament and consisting only of a row of strings or small beads is to be met with in the case of a female attendant depicted in the panel illustrating 'Sagata and the Nāga of the mango ferry'[13] (*Fig. V, 3*). In the same panel, the head-band of similar pattern is worn by a female playing on the harp. Exact parallels of this variety are met with in the later group of paintings at Ajanta.[14]

An elaborate *agrapaṭṭa* of one string, big gems with a pendant, is to be seen on the forehead of the river goddess depicted in the panel[15] illustrating 'the gift of earth' (*Fig. V, 4*). The gems of this head-band appear to be ovoidal in shape. Further, an amorous lady in the panel depicting 'the transport of relics',[16] wears a head-band of two strings, of small beads, from the centre of which hangs a small circular

9 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-a.
10 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV-c.
11 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII-b.
12 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-a.
13 *Ibid.*, XLVIII-a.
14 cf. Ajanta Paintings : *Lalit Kala Akadami* (New Delhi, 1956) : pls. IV, XVIII, XX, XXIV etc.
15 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-b.
16 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-b.

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pendant on her forehead (*Fig. V, 5*). In another sculpture[17] an amorous lady wears a head-band of one string, of small beads, instead of the two strings as seen in the above case (where small beads were used). In this case she has no pendant, and the *agrapaṭṭa* as a detached ornament adorns the head in the manner shown in the illustration (*Fig. V, 6*).

The last variety of the head-band i.e. one consisting of lockets and a pendant is seen worn by an amorous lady depicted in the panel[18] illustrating Campeyya Jātaka. The pendant in this instance is rather indistinct and as such its shape is also indeterminate (*Fig. V, 7*). The *agrapaṭṭa* which occurs in our sculptures in two capacities has both utilitarian and decorative value. In the primitive head-dress the head-band was very important. "It" says Hiler, "not only serves the function of keeping the hair out of the eye, but supports all manners of decoration and is also used to hold sundry small articles such as arrows or even a boomerang."[19] This purpose of holding the hair by the head-band is easily construed from the detached head-bands of our reliefs. However, we do not find them holding any small or sundry articles except feathers. The best decoration on the head-dress is the one which occurs as the head-band. It is quite probable that the ornamental head-band in the course of evolution has become the emblem of royalty, and it is not unlikely that some of the *agrapaṭṭas* of our reliefs as construed by Naik[20] might have been some such emblems denoting the social status or political dignity by the wearer.

(ii) *Forehead-ornament*

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures abound in representations of the forehead ornaments. It is generally found in the disc-like or a circular shape suspended from the parting of the hair (*sīmanta*) by means of a chain which, however, is not seen in a majority of cases because of the elaborate use of the head-dresses. Being a most favoured ornament it is found in use by almost all the female classes irrespective of the position they held in the society. Thus princesses, *chaurī*-bearers, female attendants, ladies in amorous couple, and *nāgiṇīs* are seen wearing this ornament in the reliefs.[21]

Such forehead ornaments are also very common in the Suṅga,[22] Sātavāhana[23] and Kushāṇa[24] art. At Bharhut it is seen worn by almost every female and as many

17 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-a.

18 *Ibid.*, XXXVIII-b.

19 Hiler, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

20 Naik, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

21 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XLV-a, XLVI-a, Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. VII-B. 2; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XX-b, XXI-a, XXVIII-b, XXIX-b, XXXIII-a, XXXIV-a; *IAR*, 1957-58, pl. VI-B. *Ibid.*, pl. VII-C; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XL-a, XL-b, XXII-b, XXVIII-b, XXXIV-a, XXXIX-a XLII-a, XLVIII-b, XLIX-a and *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

22 B.M. Barua, *Barhut*, : *Aspects of Life and Art*, Fine Arts Series (Calcutta, 1934-37), pt, III, pl. LXIV, 74.

23 Vogel, *op. cit.*, pls I,II, and III.

24 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VI-5.

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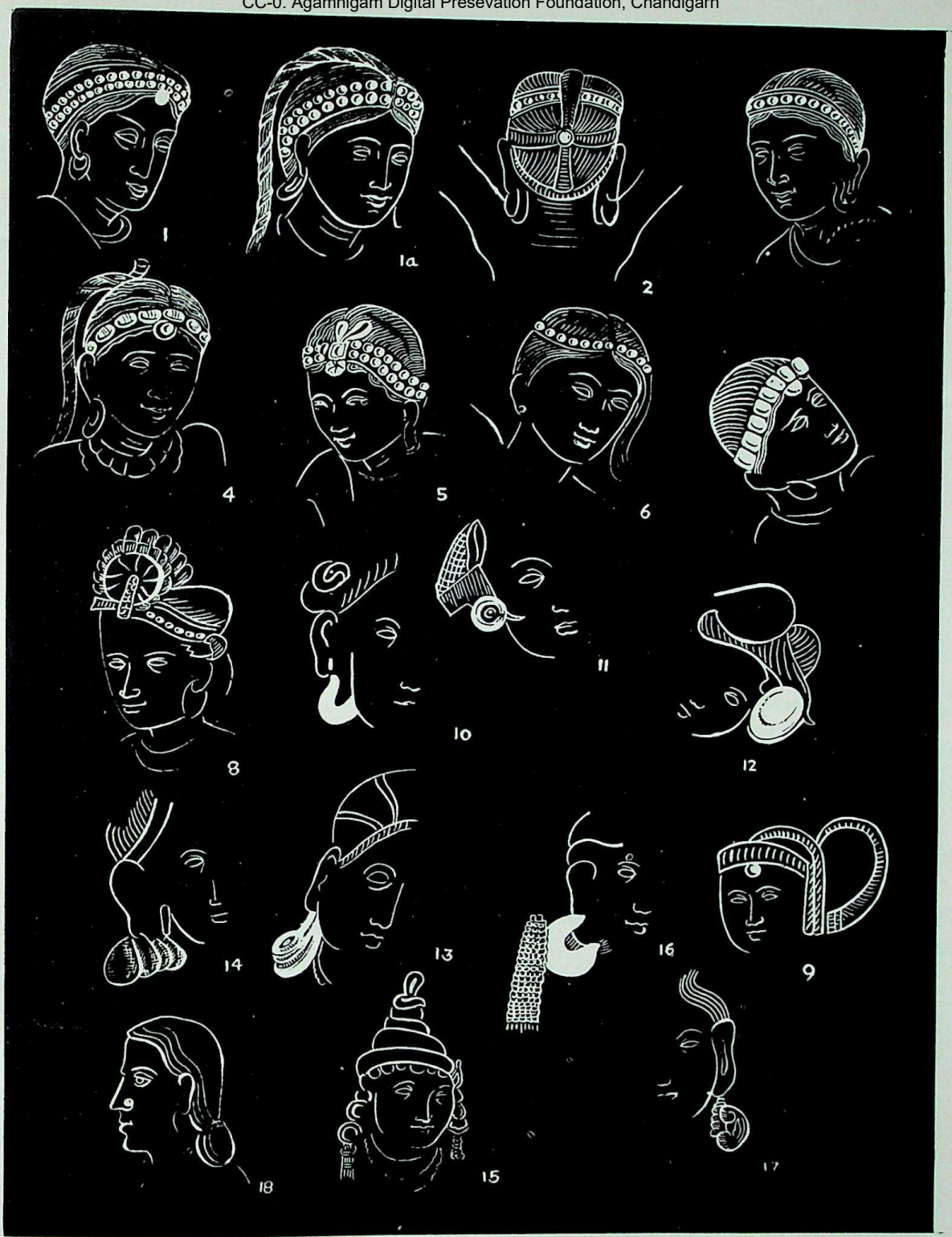

Fig. V Personal Ornaments

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as eight varieties of this ornament appear in the reliefs.[25] Several designs and shapes of this ornament are discernible in the paintings at Ajanta,[26] especially in the caves XVI and XVII. In literature, references to them are a plenty. *Chaṭula-tilaka* mentioned by Bāṇa[27] in the *Harṣacarita*—a beatiful circular ornament suspended by a golden chain and centrally suspended near the *Sīmanta* or the parting of the hair—can very well be seen in the ornaments worn by the amorous ladies, *nāgīs*, princesses etc., depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures (*Fig. V, 9*). *Lalāṭikā* like the *chaṭula tilaka*, a forehead ornament, is referred to both by Pāṇini[28] and Amara.[29] Too, the *lalāṭikā*—a "forehead piece" and *patrapāśya*—the 'fasten leaf' being ornaments for the forehead are sometimes seen depicted in the panels. Again, the Rāmāyaṇa[30] speaks of a gold ornament *tilaka* worn on the forehead as a mark of beauty. However, it is interesting to note that a forehead ornament very similar to *lalāṭikā* is still in use particularly in north India where it is known as *bindī*. But its common name is *bena*, and when the piece is very small it is called *bindī* or a "spot."

The frequent occurrence of the fore-head ornaments worn by the females in the reliefs of Nāgārjunākoṇḍā may indicate prevalance of the custom to put on *lalāṭikas*. It is in practice even today with the married *mārwāḍī* ladies : they put on *Borlas* compulsorily on every auspicious occasion. Historically and later this disc-pendant can be seen replaced by a big jewel, (*sīmanta-cūḍāmaṇi*).

(iii) *Cūḍamaṇi*

Among the jewels, used by women on their heads the gem *cūḍāmaṇi* and the *makarikā* (crocodile jewel) are the most important. Interestingly, the reliefs show both the varieties. As for the representations of the *cūḍāmaṇi*, which is worn on the parting of the hair (*sīmanta*) at the back end, they are of considerable number in the reliefs. Particularly lovely examples of these are found in the *praveṇis* of the female attendants depicted in the panels.[31] The representation of this ornament can also be seen in contemporary sculptures at Amaravati,[32] Goli[33] and at Ter.[34] At Goli, in the panel

25 A. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut* (Varanasi, 1962), pl. XLIX, figs. 1 to 9.

26 Griffith, *Paintings in the Buddhist cave temples of Ajanta* (1896-97), 47,48,55.58,60,62 etc.

27 *Harsacarita*, p. 32: See also Sivaramamurti : Sanskrit Literature and Art, Mirrors of Indian Culture, *MASI*, No. 73 (1955), p. 62.

28 According to the Sūtra IV.3,65, of Pānini, the forehead ornament *lalātikā* may be a long jewelled strip along the fore-head: See Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p.103. cf. Bāṇa's *Jūṭikābandha*.

29 *Amara*, p. 155.

30 *Rāmāyaṇa*, 11.9.49.

31 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a, XLIX-a, XL-b, Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, pl. XXXIII-a; *ASI, AR* 1930-34, pl. XLV-d.

32 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 4; Sivaramamurti informs that big *cūḍāmaṇis* like this are known to South-India today as *rāgodīs* and smaller ones as *tirugubillaes*, *uccuppu*, a small baby's crest jewel, is significant in its name (p. 108).

33 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, Goli Sculptures, pl. IX. No. 5.

34 Douglas Barret, *Ter* (Bombay, 1960), pl. 10.

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depicting Buddha's preaching (Ramachandran, Pl. IX. No. 5) a *cūḍāmaṇi* is shown suspended from the centre of the parting of the hair, on the back side of the head, of a worshipper. But one noteworthy feature of the *cūḍāmiṇis* depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures is that they are exclusively worn by female attendants with no exception : a more interesting and notable fact is that this *jewel* is invariably seen decorating the *praveṇī* hair-style. Significantly, one panel (*IAR, 1956-57*), in which a female attendant is shown wearing this ornament, contains an inscription datable to the regnal year of Ehuvulachāntamūla. In literature, references to this ornament are plenty. In the Rāmāyana, the *cūḍamaṇi* of Sita is described as 'a noble and excellent gem sprung from the sea.' But usually it is shaped like full blown lotus with many petals and composed of pearls and precious stones.[35] Kālidāsa[36] in his *Vikramorvaśīyaṃ* refers to a *cūḍāmaṇi* at several places.

Again, a solitary beautiful representation of Bāṇa's[37] *cūḍāmaṇimakarikā* (ornament with *makari*) of a mythical fish-crocodile decoration and Mankha's[38] *uttamāṅgamakarī* (crest crocodile ornament) can be seen in the *makarī* adorning a lady's head in one of the carvings at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā,[39] (*Fig. V-A*). Akin to this but a somewhat worn out example of a *cūḍāmaṇimakarikā* can also be seen in the contemporary Amaravati sculptures.[40]

In another panel[41] illustrating 'the transport of the relics,' a female attendant is shown crowned with a frontal jewel in which can be seen the *jūṭikābharaṇa* mentioned by Bāṇa.

Interestingly, two panels[42] illustrating 'the gods exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to the mankind' and 'the Bodhisattva descending from heaven in the form of a white Elephant' reveal a different variety in head ornaments. (*Fig.* V, *2*). A god and a drawf are shown wearing a head ornament that is not met with in any other contemporary sculpture. Here, two-bands are shown at almost right angles going across the rear of the head : one vertical and the other horizontal both are decked with pearls or beads. In the centre, where the two bands intersect, is to be seen a stud. The vertical band runs along the parting of the hair (*sīmanta*), and terminates in a tassel at the back. The whole decoration is quite interesting and presents a new type of head ornament.

EAR-ORNAMENTS : KARNA ŚOBHANA(S)

The bas-reliefs offer a considerable variety of ear ornaments. In ancient

35 *Rāmāyaṇa*, V. 38. 66. 7.
36 *Vik.*, Act. IV, p. 122.
37 *Harṣacarita*, p. 33.
38 *Srīkaṇṭhacarita*, I, 56.
39 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, fig. 10.
40 *Ibid.*, pl. IX, fig. 1.
41 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-b, cf. *Ter.* pl. 12, Terracotta head in D. Barret, *Ter*, Bombay (1960).
42 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII-a and XIX-d.

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Fig. V-A Makari Ornament

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Sanskrit literature various ear ornaments, each with a distinguishing name, are profusely mentioned and interestingly some of them are found delineated in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures.

Generally the ear ornaments are attached to the helix or the ear-lobe. In the sculptures only those attached to the ear-lobe are depicted. The variety of ear ornaments found in the sculptures comprises : (i) a circular metal ring (ii) a large metal disc, (iii) a metal ball or a big gem (iv) a spiral-like metal ring, (v) a half-blown flower of metal (vi) an ear ornament resembling the inverted pericarp of the lotus (vii) a metal ring with a group of pearls or bead strings and (viii) an ear ornament resembling a *makara.*

(i) *A circular metal ring*

The simplest and the most favoured ear-ornament appears to be the circular metal ring worn in a hole bored in the ear-lobe. It is seen, in the reliefs, frequently worn both by men and women testifying to its popularity during the Ikshvāku period. The gods, kings, ministers, amorous persons, drawfs, and male and female attendants appear in the sculptures with this ornament. Of these, mostly gods are found favouring this ornament[43]. In the panel[44] depicting Campeyya Jātaka, the king of Benaras and his minister are shown having *kuṇḍalas* (circular ear-rings) in their ears. In a few panels, the amorous persons and drawfs (*Fig. V, 10*) are also found wearing the simple circular ear-rings.[45] This ornament was so much favoured in the Ikshvāku period that it was worn by people in all sections of their society. The material comprising the *kuṇḍalas* under discussion was probably some metal. It is quite likely that the king and other royal or rich persons wore gold ear-rings, (*hiraṇmayam kuṇḍalam*). The common crescent shaped ear-rings probably may represent the *mṛshṭa kuṇḍalas* (or Pal. *maṭṭha kuṇḍalas*) mentioned in the Jātakas.[46] Parallel examples of this form of ear-rings are very common in the contemporary sculptures of Amaravati[47] and Goli.[48]

(ii) *A large metal disc*

As compared to the above type, this disc-shaped ear ornament worn on the ear-lobe is very much less represented in the sculptures. It is seen adorning the ears of gods, female and male attendants like the *cāmaradhāriṇis* and *cāmaradharas*, and children.

43 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XIX-d, XX-b, XXII-a, XXIII-a, XL-b and XLIII-a; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XII; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. X-B.

44 Longhurst, *ap. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

45 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-c, XXII-b.

46 *Altindisches Leben*, 262, *Jātaka*, V. No. 526, p. 104.

47 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, fig. 8 and 13, VIII, figs. 5 & 23; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 90.91 95b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII.

48 Ramachandran, (Goli Sculptures,) *op. cit.*, pls. IV and VI.

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The god represented in the panel[49] illustrating 'the Buddha protected by the serpant king Muchalinda at Gayā' wears a disc-shaped metal ear ornament, (*Fig. V, 11*). Again, in the panel illustrating 'the gift of the earth'[50] all the childern, depicted therein, appear wearing this type of ear ornaments. This would show its popular usage among the children of the Ikshvāku period.

The disc-shaped ornament reveals a close similarity to the one from the Mārkaṇḍa Tank in Puri as noticed by Rajendra Lal Mitra.[51] According to him, it is the representation of the ornament *dhenri* known in Bengal. It was probably of gold as the *dhenri* is in Bengal. It is interesting to note that the disc-shaped ear ornaments, more elaborate than those depicted in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures can be seen in Attic (8th century B.C.), classical (600-330 B.C.) and early Etruscan (700-400 B C.) earrings.[52] In Indian art close parallels of the disc-shaped ear ornaments are seen in the sculptures at Bharhut,[53] Amaravati[54] and the early paintings of Ajanta.[55] It is again interesting to note that the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Amaravati have yielded ear ornaments resembling pulley-shaped discs.

(iii) *A metal ball or a big gem*

A metal ball or a big gem also adorns the ears of some of the figures in the reliefs. However, its representation in the sculptures as compared to the other varieties of ear ornaments is scanty and the instances in which it is seen are few. In a panel,[56] illustrating 'Māra's assault' (PL. IX), a dwarf is depicted with a big ball or gem in his ear. Probably it was suspended upto the shoulders from the ear lobes. Similarly, a figure, illustrated in the penal[57] depicting 'the gift of the earth,' wears a similar ornament; and if this ear ornament was a metal ball, then it is possible that it was hollow and of gold (*Fig. V, 12*).

In some cases the metal ball is seen set with gems. The ear ornaments that were set with gems are mentioned by Hāla in his *Gāthāsaptaśatī*.[58] We find as many as five gods wearing this type of ear ornaments in a panel[59] illustrating 'the Bodhisattva descending from the heaven in the form of the white elephant.' Their ear ornaments are decked with gems or precious stones as the sculpture would suggest. It is quite likely that this ornament may represent the *ratnakuṇḍalas*.

49 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl, XXIII-b.

50 *IAR.*-1956-57, pl. LVII-A; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-c, XXII-b.

51 Mitra, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 231.

52 R.A. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery* (London, 1961), pp. 99, 125-26, 137-9; pls. 13E and 32F.

53 B.M. Barua, *Barhut*, Book III (Calcutta, 1937), pls. XXX-23, XLIV-44.

54 Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.

55 *Ajanta*, Lalit Kala Akademy (New Delhi), pl. XX.

56 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl.XXII-b.

57 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-b

58 *Gāthāsaptaśati*, IV. 2.

59 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-b.

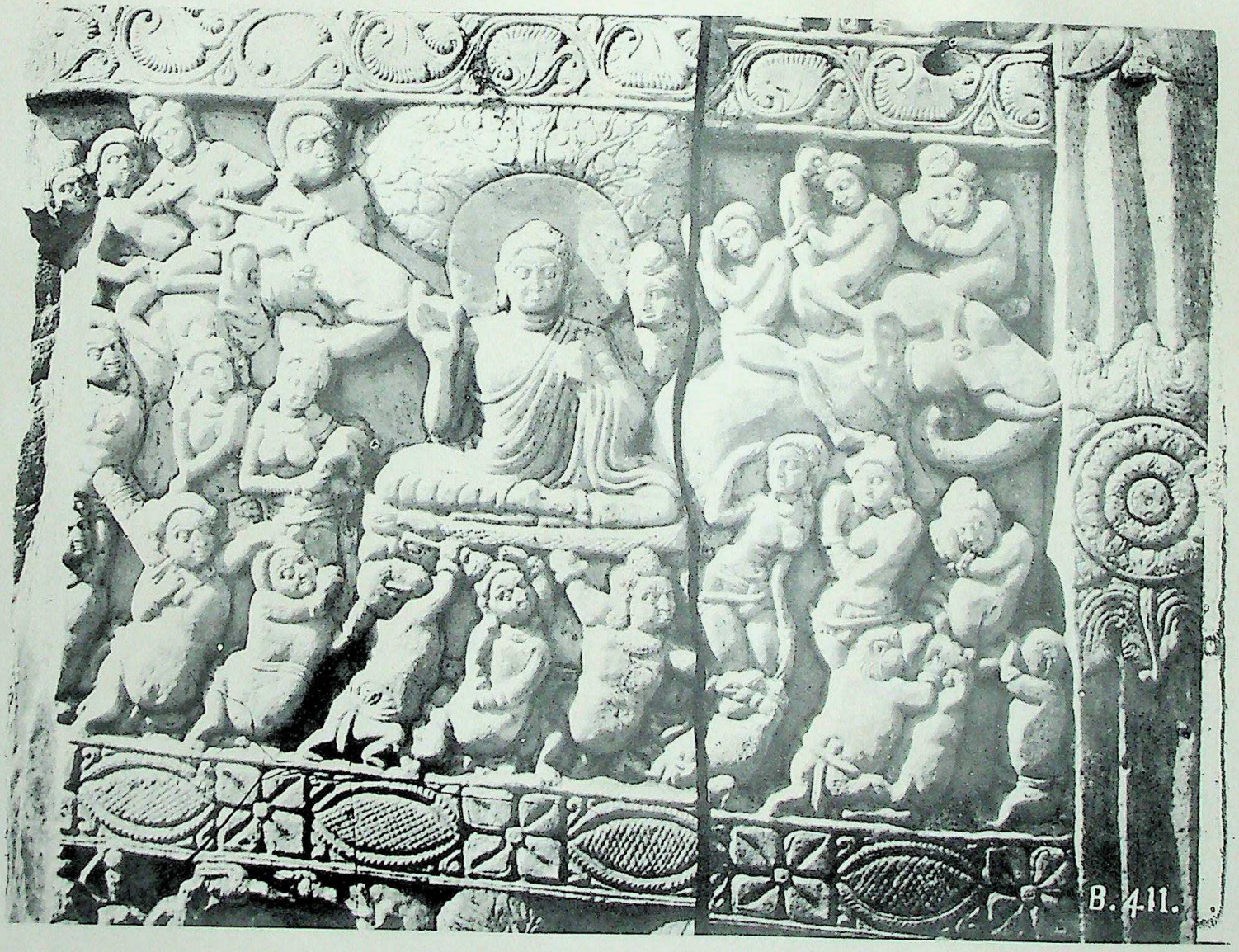

Plate IX Mara s assault

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(iv) *Spiral-like metal ring*

The best example of this spiral-like metal ring can be seen adorning the ear-lobe of the dwarf (*Fig. V, 13*) depicted on an ornate pillar.[60] Besides, only a few other male and female figures are shown wearing it elsewhere. The ornament consists of three coils, the upper one being put in the hole of the ear-lobe. This ornament may be an incipient proto-type of the later and more elaborate type, *sarpa-kuṇḍala*, mentioned in Sanskrit literature.[61] The recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have yielded a pair of spiral ear-rings of gold from a megalith.[62] The parallel examples of the spiral ear-rings are also met with in the sculptures of Sanchi[63] and in the caves of Karli[64] and Pitalkhora.[65]

Outside India, ear-rings of this type occur in about 700 B.C., at Sinjerli which had Syrian origin.[66] It was very popular in Rhodes and is also found in eastern Greece.[67] Its use lingered on to the classical period (600-330 B.C.) with regional varieties.[68]

(v) *A half-blown flower of metal*

Another variety of ear ornament which has the appearance of a half-blown flower is found suspended from the ear-lobes of some of the figures in the reliefs, (*Fig. V, 14*). This ear ornament seems to be one of the most favoured ones in the Iksvāku period as is evident from its frequent sculptural depictions on the ears of many of the female attendants like *cāmaradhāriṇis*, kings, ministers, *nāgas*, queens, amorous couples, etc.

Thus, the two *cāmaradhāriṇis* depicted in an unidentified panel[69] reveal the best example of this variety of ear ornament. In some cases, two different types of ear ornaments are seen. Thus, in one instance, an amorous person is seen wearing a simple *kuṇḍala* in his right ear while the left contains a half blown flower, probly of metal.[70]

In an unidentified panel,[71] a king, a minister and the female attendants

60 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a.

61 The word *Kuṇḍala* itself is connected with *Kuṇḍalin* the Sanskṛit word for a snake just because it coils up like a *Kuṇḍala*-see Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

62 *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 9 and pl. IV-c. However, no such specimens have been reported from the historical levels at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

63 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and fig. 32.

64 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 80, 81.

65 M.N. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut eaves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan, "*AI*, No. 15, 1959, p. 82, pl. LVII-A.

66 Higgins, *op. cit.*, pl. 102.

67 *Ibid.* p. 102.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

69 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-C; cf. Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXI-25, XXXIX-5-34.

70 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV.

71 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-b.

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belonging to different sections of the society, appear with this type of ornament. Similarly, in another panel[72] illustrating 'the novice Sumana and the Nāga king Pannaka,' *nāgas* and *nāgīṇis* are also shown wearing a half-blown flower of metal. In all probability, this ornament may represent the *pushpa-kuṇḍala*[73] or the modern *karṇaphūl*.[74] When this ear-ornament shows a full-blown lotus pattern, it may represent, *kanaka kamalas* mentioned by Kālidāsa.[75] As pointed out by Sivaramamurti,[76] the name and the pattern have survived to the present day in the *kammals* worn by the South Indian women. They are called *kammalu* in Telugu and are worn very commonly by the women of Andhra Pradesh.

(vi) *An ear-ornament resembling the inverted pericarp of the lotus*

Another variety of ear-ornament resembles the pericarp of the totus turned upside down. The pericarp of the lotus is called *Karṇikā*. According to Panini,[77] the jewel modelled after it, is *karṇikā*. The sculptural depiction of this ear-ornament can be seen in the ear of a *pratihārī*[78] (*Fig. V, 15*). The parallel examples of this are to be seen in the contemporary sculptures of Amaravati.[79] The modern *jimiki* (or Jhumkī of north India) worn by the ladies of south India is a survival of the *karṇikā*.

(vii) *A metal ring with a group of pearls or bead-strings*

The most popular ear-ornament appears to be a large ring of some metal from which is suspended a group of strings, of pearls or beads : the strings have tasseled terminals which rest on the shoulders (*Fig. V, 16*). It is generally seen worn by kings, princes, gods, dwarfs, male attendants and worshippers, queens, amorous couples, and a lady in *dohada*, which testifies to its popularity in the Ikshvāku period. The kings Śuddhodana, Kappina, Śibī, Māndhātu, Daśaratha and some of the *nāga* kings depicted in the reliefs[80] also wear this kind of the ear-ornament.

The gods are frequently depicted wearing this ear-ornament.[81] Gods like Indra and the guardian deities appear in the sculptures wearing a large metal ring with a group of strings, of pearls or beads.

That this ear-ornament did not continue to be used by the members of the

72 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII-a.

73 References to this are available in the early Sanskṛit literature.

74 The name is very much prevalent in North India,

75 *Meghadūta*, ii, 11.

76 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, 109.

77 Pāṇinī, IV, 3, 65; *Karṇalalāṭat kanalaṁkāre*.

78 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, fig. 11.

79 *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, fig. 17.

80 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XX-a, XXI-a, XXV-a, XLII-a, XLIII-a; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. L; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XLV-a; XL-a and b.

81 *Ibid.*, pls. XIX-d, XX-b, XXI-a, XXII-a, XXIII-a, XLI-b, XLIV-a and b; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. X-B; Ramachandra Rao. *op. cit.*, pls. XII.

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royalty or rich persons or gods or other celestical beings only and that even the commoners wore it can be known from its depictions on the male attendants like *cāmaradhāras* shown in the sculpture[82] revealing '*Trayaṣtriṁśa* heaven' and the other male and female worshippers represented on the *chaitya* slab.[83]

This ear-ornament may probably represent *vallikā* mentioned in the *Cullavagga*[84] or the later *bālikā* of Bāṇa.[85] The exact parallels of this ear-ornament occur at Amaravati,[86] Kanheri[87] and Mathura.[88]

(viii) *An ear-ornament resembling a makara*

Although the sculptural depiction of this type of an ear-ornament is not profuse, the existence of this type is well corroborated from its proto-types in gold, terracotta and stucco finds recovered in the recent excavations. However, the best example of an ear-ring resembling *makara* (crocodile-fish) is to be seen in the case of a lady wearing the *chūḍāmaṇimakarikā* in one of the carvings.[89] She is also shown wearing in her ears *makara-kuṇḍalas*, (*Fig. V, 17*).

The specimens recovered from the excavations[90] reveal a most evolved and stylized variety of *makara-kuṇḍalas*. They have twisted terminals probably for threading. The exterior is minutely decorated with filigree and wire-work. The granulation in the centre looks like a knot-line. The whole thing brings out the effect of leaf-design on the surface of the *kuṇḍala*. A similar specimen of *makara-kuṇḍala* is also met with in the terracottas.[91]

The beginning of the *makara-kuṇḍala* is to be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. This type evolves into a more elaborate one in the later Gupta period : pearl tassels coming out from the open mouth of the later *makaras* do not appear either at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā or at Amaravati.[92]

The ear-ornaments represented at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā are thus varied and some of them have their earlier parallels in Śuṇga, Sātavāhana and Mathura art,[93] indicating thereby their north Indian origin. But one noteworthy feature is that the

82 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. X-B.

83 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-B.

84 *Cullavagga*, V, 2, 1; *Vinaya texts*, p. 69.

85 *Harṣacarita*, pp. 32 and 166.

86 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. 4; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 92-b, 95-b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XIII, XLI, XLIV, XLV.

87 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 84, 85.

88 V.S. Agrawala, *Master pieces of Mathura Sculpture* (Varanasi, 1965), pl. III, VII.

89 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, (*MASI*, No. 73), p. 63, fig. 10.

90 *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 38, pl. LX-B.

91 *Ibid.*, pl. LXI-B.

92 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 3.

93 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Bharhut, pls. 33a, b, c, 34; Sanchi, 9, 11a; Karli, 80, 81; Kanheri, 84, 85; Amaravati, pls. 90, 91, 95; Barret, *op. cit.*, VIII, XLI, XLIV, XLV, XXIII; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. 1 to 5 and 10; VII, fig. 4; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, III, VII.

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Karṇaveṣṭana[94] or *mṛṇāla kuṇḍalas*[95] which occur profusely in early sculptures of Sanchi and Amaravati are totally absent at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Sometimes, certain ornaments mentioned in the Sanskrit literature have their representations in the aproximate contemporary sculptures and paintings. Thereafter, they go out of use and disappear both from sculptural and literary focus. It is quite probable that the ear-ornament *karṇavesṣṭana* like *phalakahāra*, which has literary and sculptural references had gone out of use at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, and hence its disappearance from the sculptures.

In literature, the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*[96] speaks of the ear-ornaments set with precious gems. The *Cullavagga*[97] and the *Vinaya* texts[98] refer to the ear-ornaments *vallikā* which has been profusely depicted in our sculptures. The ordinary crescent-shaped ear-ornaments *mṛshṭakuṇḍalas* (or Pali,-*maṭṭhakuṇḍalas)* are often mentioned by the Jātakas.[99]

It is said of an actress, referred to in the *Chīlappathikāram*, that she wore ear-rings set alternately with large diamonds and sapphires.[100]

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* clearly prescribes ear-ornaments both for males and females. Thus the ear-ornaments of the males[101] include *kūṇḍala* (ear-ring), *mocaka*, (ear-pendant), *kīla* (ear-top), while the ear ornaments for the females[102] include *kuṇḍala*, *mocaka*, *karṇikā*, *karṇavalaya*, *patrakarṇikā*, *karṇamudrā*, *karṇotkīlaka*, *dantapatra*, *karṇapūra* etc.

Similarly, Kālidāsa[103] writes about a variety of ear-ornaments, particularly, (*karṇabhūṣaṇas*) was known to his period : others referred by him include *kuṇḍala*, *karṇapūra*, *maṇikuṇḍala*, and *kanaka-kamalas*. Likewise Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* refers to the ear-ornaments like *karṇapūraka*, *bālikā*, *karṇotpala*, *maṇikarṇikā*[104] etc.

Bāṇa is specific about some of the ear-ornaments of his day. In his *Kādambarī*,[105] a reference is made to an ear-ornament called *taraṅgaka* set with a precious ruby.

94 According to Sivaramamurti, *karṇaveṣṭana* is a square made of gold with a full blown lotus carved on it, the stalk of which is twice curled over the ear-lobe and then hung freely (Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 109).

95 V.S. Agrawala takes it to be *mṛṇāla kuṇḍalas* which he describes as "a lotus stalk curled twice to form the ear-ring and then terminating in a full blown lotus at the top (Mathura Terracottas, *JUPHS.*, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 16 and 19, pl. IV, fig. 16).

96 *Gāthāsaptaśati*, IV, 2.

97 *Cullavagga*, V, 2, 1.

98 *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 69.

99 J.V. No. 526, p. 104.

100 *Chilappathikāram*, VI, 76 to 108.

101 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 412.

102 *Ibid.*, pp. 414-415.

103 *Ragh.*, X, 51, p. 217, *Rtu.*, 111, 14, p. 42; *Ragh.*, VIII, 27; *Ṛtu.*, 11, 19, p. 26; *Megha*, ii, 11.

104 *Harṣacarita*, p. 202, text, pp. 206-7 and p. 231.

105 *Kādambarī*, p. 215.

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NOSE-ORNAMENTS : NĀSĀBHARAṆA (S) OR NĀSĀVIBHŪṢA(S)

The bas-reliefs do not represent the nose-ornament anywhere. But a gold medallion[106] portraying a woman shows a rounded protuberance or a knob on her nostril. It very much resembles the *mooku-kutty* or the nose-peg favoured by contemporary ladies of south India and referred to by Ramaswamy Ayyangar.[107] His description of the *mooku-kutty* precisely fits with the one seen on the medallion. According to him, "It (*mooku-kutty*) is a screw inserted on the side of the nostril in a hole bored for the purpose. Ladies wear it on both sides of the nose and usually there is a precious stone embedded in the centre of the screw." The knob seen on the nostril of the woman portrayed on the gold medallion may well have been such a stone. (*Fig. V. 18.*).

It is interesting to note that both in early art and literature the usage of the nose-ornament is not mentioned. This is rather surprising because at present the nose-ornament, is regarded as an indispensible item of jewellery for a married Hindu lady in all the provinces of this country. It is a sign of *saubhāgya* (good-luck or married-womanhood). But Bharata, who gives a list of ornaments in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*[108] is peculiarly silent about the nose-ornament. Again, similar is the case with Amara Simha in his *Amarakoṣa*.[109] Altekar thinks that the nose ring has a foreign origin and perhaps, was borrowed from the Muhammadans.[110] This would explain the absence of the nose-ornament in the early sculptures, paintings and literature. Dasgupta[111] is of the opinion that references to the usage of nose ring occur as early as in the *stotras* of Sankaracharya. But the Sankaracharya era is assigned to circa 7th-8th cen. A.D., and as such, the introduction of the nose ring in India cannot be earlier than the 7th century A.D.

Moreover, by 7th century A.D., the nose ring was commonly known to the Malabaris, who probably borrowed it from the Arabs, that were trading with them

106 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XVI-d.

107 Quoted in his article on "The antiquity of the Hindoo-Nose ornament called 'Nath' "by Gode in *ABORI*, XIX, 1938-39, p. 333; It is interesting to note that the lambadis inhabiting the Krishṇā valley presently wear a nose ornament known as '*kukram*'–E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

108 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pp. 411-417.

109 *Amarakosa* of Amarasiṁha (8th cent. A.D.) states the list of ornaments as *mukta, kirīṭa, cūḍāmaṇi, torala, patrapāśya, karṇikā, kuṇḍala, lambana, uraḥsūtrikā, hāra* etc.: but this list makes no mention of any nose ornament.

110 Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-302. According to him the modern word *vesara*, used to mean a nose ornament by some Hindi speaking people, is of unknown origin. Similarly the Gujarati word *vali* originally refers to *valaya* or a circular ornament and secondarily to a nose ornament because of its round shape. Again the words *natha, nathiā, nathnī, naththā, nathnag*, etc., which are to denote a nose ornament in different vernaculars of India are all derived from the Prākṛit word *nattha* which means a string passed through the nose of an animal in order to control it with ease. It does not mean a nose ornament at all in Prākṛit or the Apabhraṁśa language.

111 *Calcutta Review*, May, 1937, pp. 142-144—quoted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 301-302; See Sankarāchārya's *Saudarayalaharī*, V. 61; *Yamunāśhṭaka*, V. 7; *Tripurasundaramānasapūjā*, V. 45; and *Devīchatuṣṭayopachāra stotra*, V. 20.

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by that time. It is quite likely that the Arabs in their turn, had borrowed the nose ring from the Hebrews as mentioned in the Old Testament.[112] The practice of wearing the nose-ornament and its implications as an insignia of *saubhāgya* by the Indian women does not appear to be of as much antiquity as it is generally considered to have. Probably it may not have been in use earlier than the 7th century A.D., and by that time the contemporary literature refers to it.

If this is accepted, then the presence of the nose-ornament in the form of rounded protuberance on the nostril of the woman portrayed on the gold medallion found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā has to be accounted for. For this, the plausible explanation appears to be that the woman portrayed on the medallion is not Cantisirī as identified by Longhurst, but she may be a foreign lady. Her dress, curly hair etc., unmistakably reveal her foreign origin. Practice of wearing nose-ornaments by certain foreign ladies is attested to as early as in the late Minoan and Mycenaean eras (1600-1100 B.C.,).[113] Thus, it should not be a surprise to find a nose-ornament on the nostril of the foreign lady.

However, it should be noted that Indian literature and sculptures do not offer any reference of such nose-ornaments as worn by foreign ladies. But at the same time it may also be noted that *Prakrit* literature[114] makes references to noseornaments, which indicates that the nose-ornament was known to India in early times but its adopting here was rather late, as late as in the 7th Century, A D. Perhaps, it is because of the non-adoption of the nose-ornaments that the figures depicted in the sculptures do not reveal any of them, even though, the figures are rich in other ornaments.

NECK-ORNAMENTS : KAṆTHABHŪSĀ(S)

The base-reliefs depict almost all women wearing neck-ornaments. They appear to be an inevitable item of jewellery for adornment of a contemporary woman. Some of the men in the reliefs are also seen wearing neck ornaments. It is generally considered that the adornment of the male is in no way detrimental to his masculanity. In fact, such decoration is a necessary adjunct for emphasising his taste for beauty, aesthetics, and courage. It is, therefore, the king who, in the reliefs, generally appears with a neck ornament whether he is in the harem, or in the court or on war.[115]

Each ornament has a special name. This is true even to this day. The name of the ornament was indicative of its shape. Thus the *champākalī* in north India denotes a necklace made of individual pieces shaped like the bud of *magnolia*

112 *New Indian Antiquary*, 1943-44, p. 25.

113 E. Gjerstad, *The Sweedish Cyprus Expedition* (Stockholm, 1934) IV, pt. 2, 162, 221; see also Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

114 In *Aṁgavijjā*, the word *ORANI* means one of the ornaments bearing feminine names (*striṇāma bhūshaṇa* (*Angavidya*-IX 2. 342, P. 71) Dr. Motichandra includes it in the ear-rning class but describes it as under unidentified (*Ibid*-English Introduction, P. 42)*Niśīṭha Cūrṇi* explains *ORANI nāsikābhūshaṇa.*

115 In the great epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is said of Kumbhakarṇa that he set out for battle with a lustrous *hāra* embellishing his chest. The same epic asserts that Rāvaṇa wore *nishka* or coin necklace.

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flowers. Similarly, *kāsulaperu* or the coin-necklace of south India is the exact replica of the *Nishka* of ancient times and our reliefs readily seem to portray such a one.[116]

However, the importance of the necklace in relation to clothing cannot be under-estimated. It is interesting to note that the sculptures at times portray *uttarīyas*, rolled and worn round the neck, in the manner of a necklace.

The Necklaces also have social and religious significance. The *maṅgala sūtra*, which the sculptures tend to indicate, are exclusively worn by married Hindu woman: it is considered a *saubhāgyālaṅkāra*.

The neck-ornaments (*kaṇṭhabhūṣās*) represented in the reliefs are plenty and appear on persons of all ranks. Broadly two categories of neck-ornaments, namely, the necklaces (*hāras*) and the necklets (*kaṇṭhis*) are discernible. The necklaces are understood to be those which are worn loosely and freely around the neck, while the necklets can be distinguished as those which fit the neck very closely.

However, necklaces in the reliefs range from a simple string-of-bead ones (*kaṇidaka* or *akṣamāla*) to the most elaborate and artistic ones composed of lockets probably of gold (*suvarṇa* or *hema*) with a collet in the centre encasing a gem. The considerable number of neck ornaments portrayed in the sculptures, while reflecting on the artistic sense of the people of the Ikshvāku period, bespeak the variety of neck-ornaments known to them. In the following pages these different varieties of neck-ornaments are described:

(i) A necklace of one string or row (kaṇidaka)[117] *of beads (akshamālā) or pearls (muktāvali) or gems (lalantika)*

This fashion of the necklace appeared to have been very popular as is evident from its prolific depictions in the sculptures. It is generally seen adorning the necks of the princes, gods, queens, amorous ladies, and female and male attendants; indicating thereby its unrestricted use by all classes of the society.

Thus, prince Gautama depicted in the panel illustrating 'the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa* or great renunciation' wears a *kaṇidaka* of globular beads threaded considerably apart. The beads probably had hooks by means of which they were suspended from the string tied loose round the neck (*Fig. VI, 1*). However, it is the gods that appear more frequently with this type of ornament. The one that is represented in the panel[118] illustrating 'gods exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to mankind' depicts a necklace of one string, of globular shaped beads. In this case, the beads are larger than those described above and are closely threaded. Similar is the case with the *kaṇidakas* that adorn the necks of the gods depicted in the panels[119] illustrating 'the nativity and the seven steps'. Here the beads are of ovoidal shape unlike those hitherto described.

The best examples of this fashion are seen adorning the necks of amorous

116 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII.

117 See Dr. Sir M. Monier Williams., *Dictionary* English and Sanskrit, pp. 528-529; cf. V.S., Apte, *Sanskrit and English Dictionary*, p. 529.

118 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLIII-a.

119 *Ibid.*, pls. XXVIII-a & b.

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ladies. An amorous lady shown in the panel[120] illustrating 'the admission of the six *śākya* princes and the barber Upāli to the Order' presents a clear example of this variety. A necklace, of one string and of ovoidal beads threaded closely, is seen clearly round her neck (Pl. V). In this case also, the beads had a hook by means of which they were suspended from the string tied loosely round the neck. A slightly different type of a necklace, of one string, comes from the river goddess depicted on another *āyaka* cornice-stone.[121] The *kaṇidaka* that is tied, rather loosely, round her neck consists of beads of ovoidal shape. In this case, it seems, holes were bored in the middle of the beads and these are threaded considerably apart (*Fig. VI, 2*). The next class, that is generally seen wearing this fashion of the ornament, is the attendant class as is known from their sculptural depictions.[122]

The two male worshippers depicted on the *Chaitya* slab also show a necklace of one string, of small globular beads. It is long and extends upto the chest. The necklace seems to be of pearls, of uniform size, and thus it may represent the *avaghātaka* type of necklace mentioned by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra*[123] and the *ekāvali* type of Bāṇa, described in his *Harṣacarita*.[124] Such *ekāvalis* are very common in early sculptures of Sanchi and Amaravati.[125]

(ii) A kaṇidaka loosely falling on the arms

Some of the necklaces, with a single string or row of beads, are seen loosely falling either on the left or on the right arm of some of the persons in the reliefs. The best example is found in the case of king Māndhātu depicted in the panels[126] illustrating 'Māndhātu causing a shower of gold' and the Māndhātu Jātaka. He wears a *kaṇidaka* of spherical beads. The holes in this case, it seems, were bored in the middle. The necklace is tied so loose that it has slipped over the left arm. A precisely similar example is again seen on the person of Ālavaka, who is twice portrayed, in the panel[127] depicting 'conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka'.

Amorous persons also appear, in the reliefs, with this type of an ornament more than once. In many instances in their case, the number of strings in a necklace is two. The amorous person depicted on the inscribed frieze slab[128] reveals a *kaṇidaka* of spherical beads loosely falling on the left arm. In this case the beads probably had holes at the top and were threaded to a string or a fillet which can be clearly made out in the sculpture.

120 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-b.

121 *Idid.*, pl. XXXVIII-a.

122 *Ibid*, pls. XXXIX-b; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII.

123 *Ārthaśāstra*, p. 76, *avaghātaka* type of necklace is defined as a necklace of pearls, all of which are of uniform size.

124 *Harṣacarita*, p. 135.

125 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pls. XII, XVI-a, XVII-a, XXVI, a, b, XLI, Zimmer, (Sanchi, 5, 11, a, b), Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. 6.

126 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.* pl. XVI and XIX.

127 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.

128 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A; cf. Barret, *op. cit.*, Amaravati, pl. XII, XXVII.

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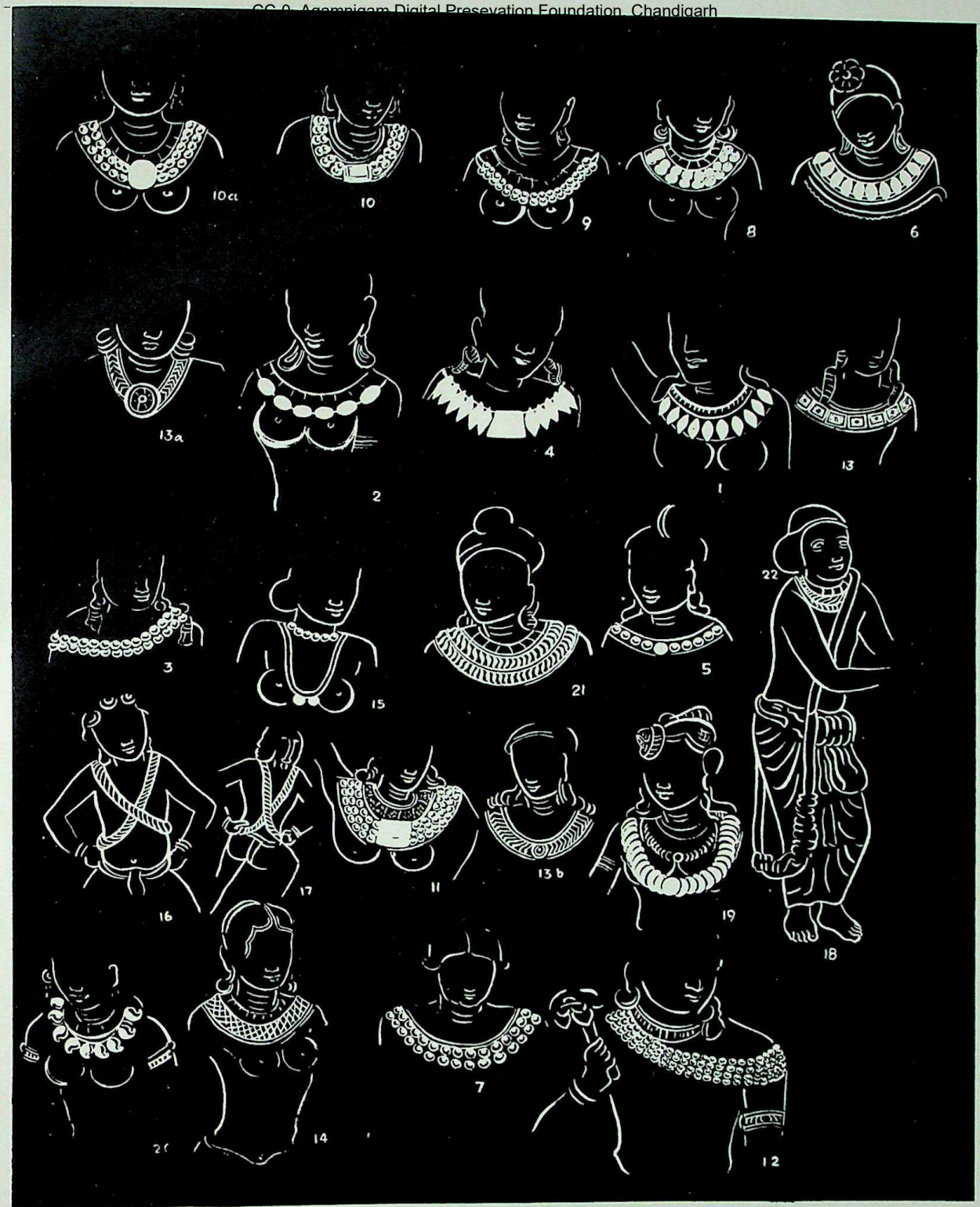

Fig. VI Personal Ornaments

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As an addition to this type of ornament, the amorous person depicted on an *āyaka* cornice stone[129] reveals two strings or rows of beads or pearls. The beads in this case are considerably large and of ovoidal shape. The necklace is tied so loosely that it has slipped over the right arm (*Fig. VI, 3)*.

Yet another variety of the necklace can be seen in the case of an amorous person carved on yet other *āyaka* cornice stone.[130] He is shown wearing a necklace of two strings or rows of beads. Of these two rows of beads, the beads in one are of large size and ovoidal in shape while the second row consists of small sized beads. This is the only example in the whole range of the reliefs where this kind of a combination is found. In some cases, female attendants are also represented in the sculptures with two stringed necklace on their necks.[131]

(iii) A kaṇidaka with a locket in the centre, holding a gem (maṇimālā)

Various names such as *maṇimālā, ratnāvāli, muktāvali* etc., are found in Sanskrit literature for necklaces of gems or pearls. A string of pearls with a precious stone in the centre forms the *yashṭi* necklace. But when the central gem or *maṇi* is of large size, it is a *śīrshaka* type of necklace.[132] Since it is not possible to distinguish pearls from gems in the sculpture, those illustrated in the sculptures may be either of these.

The amorous person, depicted in the panel[133] illustrating 'the admission of the six *sākya* princes and the barber Upāli to the order,' probably represents one such necklace. He is shown wearing a necklace of a single string of beads or gems resembling diamonds: these seem to have holes at the top, through which a string passed. In the centre of the string is a locket of trapezoidal shape with a globular gem embedded in its centre (*Fig. VI, 4*). The whole thing may represent the *yashṭi* type of a necklace.

The king Suddhodana depicted in the panel[134] illustrating 'Chandaka relating Siddhārtha's *Abhinishkramaṇa*,' offers a different variety of a *kaṇidaka*. He is shown wearing a necklace of closely threaded ovoidal beads or pearls. All the beads or pearls are of uniform size with a bigger one (*nāyakamaṇi*) in the centre (*Fig. VI, 5*) instead of a small globular gem encased in a locket as seen above. This may represent *śirshaka* type of necklace mentioned by Kauṭilya.

(iv) A necklace of one row of gems or pearls between the metal rings

This kind of neck-ornaments are seen around the necks of some kings, gods, amorous persons and female attendants. Of them, it is the gods[135] that appear

129 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX

130 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIV.

131 *Ibid.*, pl. LIII.

132 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 76.

133 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-b; cf. *Ajanta*, pl. XII, (Lalit Kala Akademy, New Delhi).

134 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII.

135 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-a.

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more frequently with this kind of an ornament. But what interests us is the construction of this necklace. A row of gems or pearls is exquisitely fitted in two metallic rings which have at times one or two edged rims. Probably it had a clasp by means of which it was fixed round the neck at the rear (*Fig. VI, 6*). Thus the kings, revealed in an unidentified panel and the Campeyya Jātaka, present a necklace of this kind.[136] Here, a row of large ovoidal gems are fitted in two thick metallic rings. This was probably fixed round the neck by means of a clasp provided at the back. In the case of the necklace worn by the king of Banaras depicted in the Campeyya Jātaka, there are two marginal ridges at the lower border. In another instance as many as five gods appear in one panel[137] wearing this type of ornament.

(*v*) *A necklace of two strings of beads skirted on the double rimmed metallic ring*

There is a solitary representation of this kind of an ornament in the reliefs. An amorous person, depicted in the inscribed frieze slab[138] is shown wearing this ornament. Two rows of beads or pearls have skirted the lower and upper borders of the double rimmed metallic circular ring or plaque (*Fig. VI, 7*).

(*vi*) *A necklace of two rows of beads or pearls (maṇimālā or muktāvali)*

This ornament comprises two rows of pearls or beads of different shapes. The beads are bored in the middle in all the cases of this variety. This ornament is probably the sculptural delineation of the *maṇimālā* or *muktāvali*. In the reliefs, kings, gods, *nāgas*, amorous ladies, female and male attendants, and musicians like drummers are shown wearing this ornament. The fact that different kinds of people are shown wearing this variety in the reliefs, testifies to its popularity during the Ikshvāku period.

The *nāga* king depicted in the panel[139] illustrating 'the story of Sumana' reveals a necklace comprising two rows of pearls of which the upper row consists of large ovoidal beads while the other is of small globular ones. The best example of this type of ornament can be seen on the person of the *nāga* depicted in the panel[140] illustrating 'the Buddha holding two relic caskets before a group of *nāgas*'. A *nāga* is shown wearing the *muktāvali* consisting of two rows of large beads (*Fig. VI, 8,9*). Similarly, some of the gods represented in the sculptures[141] also reveal the same type of an ornament around their necks. Again, a few of the amorous ladies also wear this ornament. The amorous lady represented on an *āyaka* cornice stone[142] offers a

136 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVI-b; XXXVIII-b; Compare Zimmer, *op. cit.*, *Sanchi*, pl. 30; *Mathura*, pl. 64c, 71; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, VIII.

137 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. LI.

138 *IAR*,—1956-57, pl. LVII-A.

139 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII.

140 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV-b.

141 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX-d.

142 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX.

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clear example of this ornament: the beads or pearls of her necklace are threaded closely and are large and globular.

(vii) A necklace of two strings, of pearls with a central locket

This kind of necklace is found worn by king Śuddhodana depicted in the panel[143] illustrating the casting of 'the horoscope' and in 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana'. He wears two strings of beads or pearls with an oblong locket in the centre *(Fig. VI, 10)*. Almost a similar example occurs around the neck of a guardian deity depicted in the same panel. But in this case the locket is trapezoidal in shape: except for this shape, the entire necklace resembles the one noticed in the case of king Śuddhodana in the same panel.

A more clear example of this type of ornament comes from the river goddess or lady in *dohada* depicted in the panel[144] illustrating 'the gift of earth'. She wears a necklace consisting of two strings of globular pearls, of uniform size, with a spherical gem *(nāyakamaṇi)* in the centre *(Fig. VI, 10a)*. This is again a true sculptural representation of Kauṭilya's *śirṣaka* type of necklace.

(viii) A necklace with three strings of beads or pearls or gems with or without a central locket

The lady in *dohada* represented in the panel[145] illustrating 'the nativity and seven steps' wears a necklace consisting of three strings of beads or pearls. It is difficult to say whether the lady in *dohada* had a locket in the centre of her necklace. However, what appears in the centre could be an oblong locket. If it is not a locket, then the necklace can be a mere three stringed bead (or pearl) necklace. A clear instance of a necklace comprising three strings of beads or pearls with an oblong locket in the centre is met with on the neck of a guardian deity depicted in the same panel *(Fig. VI, 11)*.

The best example of the necklace with three strings of beads or pearls but without a locket occurs on the neck of a *nāga* depicted in the panel[146] illustrating 'the Buddha holding two relic caskets before a group of *nāgas*.' Here the necklace is sculptured very clearly. Another *nāga*, in the same panel, presents a necklace of three strings or rows of pearls or beads with a circular central gem *(nāyakamaṇi)*. This may again be the *śīrshaka* type of a necklace.[147]

(ix) A necklace with four rows of pearls or beads

The reliefs also reveal an example where the necklace has four rows of beads. Thus, one of the carvings[148] represents *nāgarājā* with this type of an ornament. His

143 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a; XXI-a; also compare V.S. Agrawala, *Gupta Art* (1948), pl. I. 2 for the shape of the locket.

144 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-b.

145 *Ibid.*, pl. XX-a.

146 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV-b.

147 Compare *Lalit Kala Akademy*, Ajanja, pl. XV. But in this case the central gem is of ovoidal shape.

148 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, VIII-A.

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necklace consists of four rows of beads (*Fig. VI, 12*). His neck is further embellished with a metallic necklet. The plaque has an edged rim. The decoration on the plaque is floral, and in the centre of the plaque can also be seen a circular flower-like design. However, this is the only sculptural fragment which portrays a necklace of four strings of beads or pearls.

(x) A necklace of a group of strings of pearls (hāra)

Several males and females are seen wearing a necklace of a group of strings of pearls or *hāra*. In a majority of such cases, the pearls are globular and small. At times two cords of the necklace, or a group of strings of pearls, are found tied loosely round the neck of some of the persons.[149] The necklace is seen, in some cases, considerably slipped over the arms. There are also instances where one of the cords of the necklace has a locket in the centre.[150] The gods are shown to wear this type of ornament profusely.[151] But the two gods represented in the panel illustrating 'the transportation of the head-dress to heaven' reveal in addition a locket in the centre of their necklaces.

(xi) Metallic necklaces

Distinctly different from the types described hitherto are some necklaces that, from their appearance, seem to be representations of metallic ones. What metal was used in their construction it is difficult to judge from the sculptures. But when the necklaces were made of gold they probably represented *hema sūtra* or *kanaka sūtra*.

The depictions of the metallic necklaces in the reliefs are prolific *(Fig. VI, 13, 13a, 13b,)* : amorous couples, gods, dwarfs, female attendants and *cāmaradhāriṇis* appear with these around their necks. The unrestricted usage of these metallic necklaces in different sections of the contemporary society tends to confirm its popularity during the Ikshavāku period.

Thus, the amorous lady depicted on the *āyaka* cornice stone[152] reveals a metallic necklace. It consists of a circular plaque decorated with wavy lines. Another variety of metallic necklace is found around the neck of an amorous male depicted in the panel[153] illustrating Campeyya Jātaka. He is shown wearing a metallic necklace consisting of several lockets of rectangular shape. These are hung from a string which is tied round the neck. The lockets are incised with small squares *(Fig. VI, 13)*.

A slightly different type of metallic necklace is met with in the case of another amorous male carved on an *āyaka* cornice stone.[154] He wears a row of

149 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-A and XXI-a; also cf. V.S. Agrawala, *Gupta Art* (1948), pl. VI. 8.

150 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-a.

151 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII-a; XX-a and XXI-a.

152 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV.

153 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

154 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII.

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lockets of oblong shape. His neck is further adorned with a metallic circular disc, presumably, decked with a small globular gem. The disc is attached with circular plaques, on either side, and this contains a rope design on its exterior. Probably it had a clasp at the back for fastening.

Another god depicted in the panel[155] illustrating 'the gods exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to mankind' wears a metallic necklace. The plaque of this necklace is panelled into squares and within these gems are set. Elsewhere[156], another god wear a metallic necklace which bears a criss-cross pattern.

Some of the dwarfs in the reliefs present very interesting metallic necklaces. One such mettalic necklace is worn by the dwarf depicted on an ornate pillar.[157] His necklace has a big circular disc in the centre. A row of plaques is attached on either side of the disc. These two rows have a rim on the upper and lower borders. But the two dwarfs depicted on the panel[158] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka' reveal metallic necklaces : they, too, are seen wearing metallic necklaces containing a criss-cross pattern.

The other class which is generally depicted wearing this type of ornament is that of the male and female attendants. Somewhat similar necklaces, noticed in the case of the dwarf above, is met with on the neck of a male attendant depicted in the panel[159] illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park.' In this case, the plaques are curved, and its central disc is comparatively smaller than that of one noticed above; it is tied close to the neck. Another variety of the metallic necklace is found on a female attendant depicted in the panel,[160] illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka. She wears a similar necklace which has a rectangular locket in the centre : circular plaques are attached on its either side. Still another variety of the metallic necklace is met with in the panel[161] depicting the Dighītikosala Jātaka. Here a female attendant appears with a metallic necklace decorated with criss-cross pattern (*Fig. VI, 14*).

Some of the *cāmaradhāriṇis* also are depicted wearing similar necklaces. In an unidentified panel[162] the *cāmaradhāriṇi* appears with a metallic necklace. It consists of a circular plaque incised with vertical or oblique slashes. At times this plaque had edged rim. We have three examples of this variety.

(xii) *A plain string of cotton or plaited gold cord*[163]

A string of cotton or plaited gold cord is often seen tied round the necks of some of the amorous ladies and female attendants like *khaḍgavāhinis pratihāris*,

155 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-a.

156 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII-b.

157 *Ibid.*, pl. IX-d.

158 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX-a.

159 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-b.

160 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

161 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII-a.

162 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV-c.

163 There is a reference to gold thread (*hema*) as an ornament of the neck in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (p. 412 16.).

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cāmaradhāriṇi.[164] The two female attendants depicted in the panel[165] illustrating 'Māndhātu caushing a shower of gold,' wear a string of cotton or of gold, (*hema sūtra or kanaka sūtra*) respectively, with small beads suspended from it. The ornament is a necklet tied very close to the neck. Probably the beads had holes at the top through which the string passed. In another instance a string of cotton or plaited gold cord is seen tied round the neck, rather loosely, extending upto the breasts (*Fig. VI, 15*). A close examination of the string (*sūtra*) suggests the presence of a bead, suspended in the centre of the string, near the breasts. Since the folded palm of the attendant covers her breast portion it is not possible to know further details of the beads in the centre of the string. If the identification of the existence of beads in the centre of the *sūtra* is correct then the whole thing may probably be a *maṅgala sūtra* as seen around the necks of married ladies of the present day in Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Tamilnadu and Maharashtra States. The present day married Hindu lady in Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Tamilnadu and Maharashtra States wears a *maṅgala sūtra* consisting of two bell-shaped beads. Since it is not possible to know the number of beads worn by the female attendants as shown in the sculpture the identification that the string of cotton (or plaited gold cord) worn by them is a *maṅgala sūtra* is not free from doubt. If the depicted ornament is *maṅgala sūtra* of to-day it should have been a *saumangalya* to the married women of the Ikshvāku period. This, incidentally, would indicate the practice of wearing *maṅgala sūtras* by the married ladies of the Ikshvāku period. In that case, the beads noticed in the necklet might be black beads. The custom that the married lady should wear a string or black beads,(*nallapūsalu*),[166] is current in Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, and Maharashtra States.

Again, in that case, if the string tied round the neck was not of gold it could be of cotton also. Such threads of cotton—yellow— around the necks of married ladies in the present day are to be seen commonly. In case the identification that the necklace did not mean a *maṅgala sūtra* and the necklet was not a black beaded *hāra* (*Pl. VI*; *Fig. 15*) the whole ornament would then merely indicate a string of cotton or gold to which some beads are suspended.

The female attendants and the queen of *yaksha* Ālavaka depicted in the panel[167] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka,' the amorous lady carved on another *āyaka* cornice stone;[168] and the *khaḍgavāhini, pratihārī* and *cāmaradhāriṇi* depicted in the panel[169] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka—all reveal a similar type of string around their necks.

164 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII, XVIII and XX.

165 *Ibid.*, pl. XX.

166 In Telugu *nallapūsalu* means black beads. An interesting custom prevails among lambadis. Unmarried lambadi girls wear black-beads-necklaces which are taken off at the time of marriage and its place *ravikai* (jacket) is worn (Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 217).

167 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII.

168 *Ibid.*, pl. XVII.

169 *Ibid.*, pl. XX.

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(xiii) *Channavīra in the vaikakshaka fashion*

In four instances, a *channavīra* (lit. protect warrior[170] is represented in the sculptures.[171] In a panel[172] illustrating 'Māra's assault,' Māra is shown wearing a *channavīra* in the *vaikakshaka* fashion. Two bands of gold thread or plaited gold cords (*hema vaikakshaka*) are shown crossing each other over the breast (*Fig. VI, 16*). In another panel[173] illustrating 'the Nāga king Apalāla subduced by the Buddha,' the rear view of the *channavīra* in the *vaikakshaka* fashion is offered by Vajrapāṇi, (*Fig.* VI, *17*).

Two dwarfs are also seen wearing the *channavīra* in *vaikakshaka* fashion : in the centre, on the breast, where the two bands cross each other, is to be seen an ornamental disc adorned with rosette-shaped bosses. These specimens have somewhat parallel examples at Sanchi.[174] Yet another example of *channavīra* occurs on an *āyaka* cornice stone.

However, such *suvarṇa vaikakshakas* or *channavīras* occur in early sculptures[175] of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Karli and in Ivories of Begram, Mathura and the Gupta sculptures. In early sculptures, *channavīra* (meaning 'protect warrior') retains its literal meaning as it refers to the *vaikakshaka* of the warrior whose torso it protects.[176] The *channavīra* of later sculptures is but an ornamental *vaikakshaka*. In literature *vaikakshakas* of gold, cloth or cotton, flower wreath, pearl strings etc., are referred to.[177]

(xiv) *Sacred thread of pearls* (*muktāyajñopavīta*)

An amorous lady[178] and an amorous male[179] depicted in two different vertical panels wear long *yajñopavītas* composed of pearls. This may be identified as *muktāyaj ñopavita* (*Fig. VI, 18*) mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasaṁbhava*.[180] Parallel

170 It may also mean 'warrior-controlled', implying that the wearer has control over the combating warriors. It also means that he has 'concealed his valour' or controlled valour. For origin and development of *channavira vaikakshaka* see Krishna Murthy, K. "Channavīra Vaikahshaka in Early Indian Art", *JAHRS.* Vol, 35, PB 285 to 288

171 Longhurst, *op. cit*,, pls. XXIX-a,XL-a etc.,

172 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-a.

173 *Ibid.*, pl. XL-a.

174 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, p. 26, fig. 37.

175 Marshall and Faucher, *op. cit.*, (Sanchi) pl. XXIX, LIX-a; Barret, *op. cit.*, (Amaravati), pl. XXI; V.S. Agrawala, *Gupta Art* (1948) pl. II. 4; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and pl. VIII, figs. 13, 33. See also Deogarh sculpture representing Lakshmaṇa disfiguring Śūrpaṇakhā—Now in National Museum, Govt. of India. Also see Anne Marie Loth, *Lavie Publique et Privee Dans Linde Ancienne*, (France, 1972), Planche 45, 144, Barhut, 46, 1 to 4 Sanchi; 47, 1, Karli; 47, 2, 3, Amaravati and 40, 1 to 3, Begram.

176 Sivaramamurti, *MASI*, No. 73 Delhi, 1955, p. 64; *Harṣhacarita*, p. 101; *Kādambarī*, p. 148.

177 *Harṣacarita*, p. 101.

178 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-a.

179 *Ibid.*, pl. XLI-a.

180 *Kumārasaṁbhava*, VI, 6.

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examples of this can be seen in the sculptures of Amaravati,[181] the paintings of Ajanta[182] and in the later Chalukya, Pallava and Chola sculptures.[183]

However, in the earliest sculptural representation we see the upper cloth worn in the *yajñopavita* fashion to the left in accordance with the description in the *yajurveda*. Thus of the *yaksha* from Patna;[184] a few sculptures from Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Sanchi, Amaravati, and Kaveripakkam[185] also reveal an upper cloth worn in the *upavīta* fashion. In Amaravati sculptures the *rishis* wear *ajina yājñopavīta* or *yajñopavita* of deer skin.[186] The *vastrayajñopavītā*, *ajinayajñopavitā* and *muktāyajñopavita* described in the Vedas also occur on the Gupta and the mediaeval sculptures.

(xv) *Nishka or coin necklace*

A coin necklace is also represented in the reliefs. An amorous lady, depicted on an *āyaka* cornice stone[187] offers this type of necklace. Coins, presumably of gold, strung on a silken string or a plaited gold cord, are seen tied round the neck of the amorous lady. The coins are strung so closely that they overlap each other. The whole thing appears to be a coin necklace (*Fig. VI, 19*). Probably this may represent the *Nishka*. In addition to this, the amorous lady wears a necklace of single string (*kaṇidaka*) of beads.

Similar coin-necklaces can be seen in the contemporary Amaravati sculptures.[188] The *Nishka*, as a necklace, has a great antiquity.[189] *Nishka* as a gold necklace occurs in the *Ṛigveda* and also later. A *nishka* of silver is mentioned in the *Pañcaviṁsa Brāhmaṇa*. According to Bhandarkar the *nishka* is called in the Jaina *Kalpa Sūtra*, as *urattha-dinara-mālayā*' (a string of *Dināras* on the breast). Probably the modern coin necklace *kāsulaperu* of Andhra Pradesh and *kāsumalai* of Tamilnadu are its survivals.

(xvi) *A necklace made of mango-shaped metal pieces (chūtaphala hāra)*

The place of *Nishka* was sometimes taken by the mango-shaped metal pieces in a necklace : a row of mango-shaped pieces of gold tied on a string, or possibly a metallic wire, was worn round the neck. The bas-reliefs offer two examples of a necklace possibly, of this type. In one of the sculptures,[190] a clear example of this type of necklace is represented. A female is shown wearing a necklace made of mango-shaped

181 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII a.
182 *AI*, No. 6, p. 24, fig. 7-c.
183 *Ibid.*, fig. 7, d. e.
184 *Ibid.*, fig. 5, a.
185 *Ibid.*, fig. 5, b.
186 Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXVI.
187 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII.
188 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII. figs. 24 and 23.
189 Bhandarkar, Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics, *The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921 (Calcutta University, 1921) pp. 64-69.
190 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, fig. 10 a sculpture from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

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ornamental pieces of gold, (*Fig. VI, 20*). In another panel,[191] illustrating 'the prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden,' a female attendant carrying a jewel-box seems to wear a necklace of the mango-shaped gold pieces. It is interesting to find its survival to the present day—in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and Maharashtra State. The *māmidipindelu* necklace of Andhra, *māngāṃ mālai* of Tamil and *kuyarī mālā*[192] of Maharashtra are the exact replicas of those noticed in the reliefs.

(xvii) *A necklace, made of metal pieces resembling jasmine buds (mallikā-kuṭmala hāra)*

In some reliefs, the gods appear with a necklace of this type. Thus, in one panel[193] alone—illustrating Buddha's nativity—three examples of jasmine bud (*jasminum zamboc*) necklace—*mallikā-kuṭmala hāra*—are clearly sculptured. Two guardian-deities and the lady in *dohada* are also shown wearing an ornament of this fashion : here, two rows of metal pieces, resembling the jasmin buds, are threaded together into a necklace and worn round the neck (*Fig. VI, 21*). The necklace is probably tied at the back; its knot can be seen at the rear in the case of a guardian deity. It is noteworthy that the present day ladies of Andhra Pradesh wear such necklaces, resembling the *mallikā-kuṭmala hāra.*

Apart from the variety of neck ornaments, depicted in the sculptures, a few others are also known from the discoveries, made as a result of the recent excavations[194] at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[195]

It is reported that a necklace along with two ear-rings, all of gold, kept in an ordinary earthen pot, were discovered from a residential rubble structure. The necklace is a unique specimen reflecting the exquisite caliber of workmanship in goldsmithy of the Ikshvāku period. The gold necklace, the string of which possibly decayed, consists of a number of thin strips with holes at their centres for threading. These strips were probably interspaced with globular or short-truncated barrel beads and square cylinder spacers with incipient collars. Their two tortoise shaped terminal-beads are example of exquisite workmanship : a Roman gold coin, of Fastina, is seen used as a pendant. The interesting feature of this necklace is that both filigree and granulation techniques were employed in its making.[196] Another noteworthy feature of this necklace is that it has the appearance of the *hāra* made of *jāji* or *jāti-kusuma* (*Jasminumgrandi florum*). Such necklaces of gold, resembling *jāji* or *jātikusuma hāra*, are current in Andhra Pradesh today.Thus, the necklace discovered in the excavations may probably represent one such *jāji* or *jātikusuma* necklace.

Although necklaces with pendants are very rare in the sculptures, the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have yielded considerable number of coin-pendants[197] or

191 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-a.

192 Kuyarī in Marathi means raw mango (Kairī).

193 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, XXV.

194 *IAR*, 1954-60.

195 *Ibid.*, 1956-57, pl. LX-B.

196 For details of the technology of the ornament see under Technology : supra pp. 333 and 334.

197 Such coin pendants or medallions were very popular in Roman period in the second and third centuries A.D.—see Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 186, pls. 56, 610.

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bullae. In some of the necklaces, Roman gold coins were used as pendants, as noticed above. Longhurst's excavations have revealed two medallions from the reliquary of *Stūpa* 6.[198] They seem to be an imitation of Roman coins since the bust exemplified on them does not bear Indian features. A similar coin-pendant, with two holes for suspension, is also reported to have been discovered during the recent excavations.[199]

Coin-pendants or bullae or imitation coins come from sites like Sisupalgarh,[200] Pataliputra,[201] Kumrahar,[202] Taxila,[203] Kondapur,[204] Tripuri,[205] Nevasa,[206] and Ter etc. These were made in imitation of the Kushan gold coins. Thus, there are two types of coin-pendants, namely, pendants made in imitation of Roman coins and those copied from the Kushan coins. Interestingly, the gold coin of Dharamadamadhara(?), from Sisupalgarh,[207] which has been used as a coin-pendant, bears imitated Kushan motif on the obverse and a Roman head on the reverse. This is the only example of this type.

Although, the tiger-claw pendant (*vyāghranakha*) does not get its portrature in the sculptures, it was known to the Ikshvāku people. This has been testified to by the discovery of one such tiger-claw pendant of green jasper from the recent excavations. The tiger-claw is, however, a common motif of ancient India. According to Marshall,[208] "Claw and tooth amulets were probably as much prized in ancient India as they were among the Greeks and the Romans." In literature, *vyāghranakha* ornament for the neck of the children is often referred to in the *Kādambāri* and the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa.[209]

(xviii) *Necklets : kaṇṭhis*

In the *Gāthāsaptaśati*,[210] the *Kaṇṭhikā* has been described as a neck ornament set with precious stones like rubies and emeralds. According to Sivaramamurti, the golden necklet of today is a survival of the somewhat flattened circular ornament, without jewels, as seen in Bharhut and other early sculptures.[211] In the reliefs, the

198 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI-c and d.

199 Information from Dr. R. Subrahmanyam.

200 *AI*, No. 5, p. 97.

201 *IAR*, 1955-56, pl. XXIV-B.

202 A.S. Altekar and V.K. Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations* (Patna, 1959), p. 131.

203 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 747.

204 Director of Archaeology, Govt. of Hyderabad publication, 1953, pl. V and VI—Kondapur.

205 M.G. Dixit, Tripuri, 1952 (Nagpur, 1955), pl. XXXII-A.

206 H.D. Sankalia *et al* : *From History to Prehistory at Navesa* (1954-56), (Poona, 1960), pl. 83, No. 3, 4, 5; See also *AI*, No. 5, p. 102, and Wheeler, R.E.M. *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Penguin, 1955), pp. 181-182.

207 *AI*, No. 5, pl. XLVIII-A.

208 Marshall, *op. cit.*, II, p. 747.

209 *Harṣacarita*, p. 134; *Kādambarī*, p. 40.

210 *Gāthāsaataśatī*, 1. 75.

211 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 111, pl. IV, fig. 29 and Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, fig. la.

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kaṇṭhī is understood to be that ornament which holds closely to the neck as opposed to the necklaces that are worn freely, at times, extending upto the breasts. In some instances, these *kāṇṭhīs* are seen with decorations and lockets.

Thus, the necklet or *kaṇṭhī* seen around the neck of an amorous person,[212] consists of a metallic circular plaque with an oblong locket in the centre (*Fig. VI, 22*). Another good example of a necklet comes from the female attendant depicted in the panel,[213] illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka. She wears almost a similar necklet, as seen above. But, in this case, the plaque contains a floral design and the size of the oblong locket is bigger than the one, referred to above, (Pl. XXVI).

The neck ornaments are common both in art and literature. Sometimes, certain neck ornaments, mentioned in the early literature, have their representations in somewhat contemporary sculptures and paintings. Thereafter, when they went out of use, they were not represented in the sculptures. For example, *a phalaka hāra*,the ornament mentioned in the *Arthaśāstrā* is profusely depicted in the early sculptures of Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Sanchi and Amaravati, in the early caves of Bhaja and in the early carvings of Mathura. But they are on the wane or almost absent in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and their contemporary Amaravati sculptures.

Evidently, the popularity of the *phalaka-hāra* dwindled and in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and other contemporary sculptures, its place was taken by the *ekāvalī*, a simple necklace composed of pearls with at times, a *nāyakamaṇī* at the centre. The reliefs teem with the representations of the *ekāvalis*, and this popularity of the ornament can be also seen in the Kushana and the Gupta sculptures.

However, some of the necklaces, represented in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures, are comparable to specimens in the Sunga, Satavahana and the Kushana art.[214] In literature, references to the necklaces are profuse and some of them do get their representation in our sculptures.

Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra* [215] gives an elaborate description of the necklaces known to him. Thus, *śīrshaka, upaśīrshaka, prakāṇḍaka, avaghātaka* and *tarala pratibandha* were the different kinds of pearl necklaces. The number of strings, comprising the necklace, determined the nomenclatures. They are known as *Vijayacchanda, ardhahāra, raśmikalāpa, guccha, nakshatramālā, ardhaguccha, māṇavaka* and *ardhamāṇavaka*. A precious stone, introduced among pearls, added a suffix *māṇavaka* to the name of the necklace.

For example, a necklet which contains three slab-like gems (*triphalaka*) or five slab like gems (*pañcaphalaka*) in the centre, is termed *phalakahāra*. One string of

212 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII.

213 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

214 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Bharhut) pl. 32; (Sanchi) 9, 11a, 15, 30; Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, XVI-a, XVII, XXVI, XXX-a and b, XXV, XXIX, LIX, XLIV, LVIII etc. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Karli) pl. 83, 85, 95c; Barrett, *op. cit.*, (Amaravati), pls. XII, XXI, XXVII, XXIII, XXXIX; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Mathura) 64c, 71, 74b, 76a; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, (Mathura) pls. I, III, VI, VII and XII, and Agrawala, V.S., *Gupta Art* (1948) pls. I. 2, II. 4; VI. 8 & VIII. 10.

215 *Arthasāstra*, p. 76.

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pearls is called *ekāvalī*.[216] The one, with a gem in the centre, is called *yashṭi*. If it is varigated with gold globules, it is termed *ratnāvalī*. Similarly, a string made of pearls and gold globules strung alternately is called a *apavartaka*.

The core of the poem *Gāthāsaptaśatī*,[217] as pointed out already, speaks of the *Kaṇṭhikā*, as a rich ornament set with precious stones like rubies and emralds.

Bharata, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*,[218] speaks at length about the necklace known to him. He prescribes the pearl necklace (*muktāvali*), the *harṣaka* and gold thread (*hema sūtra*) as the neck ornament for the males.[219] The neck ornaments, for the females included the pearl necklace, snakerow (*vyāla-paṅkti*), the *Mañjarī*, the jewelstring, the jewel neck-lace and the neck chain (*sūtra*).[220] The necklace with two, three, or four strings as well as the gold chain, were the ornaments, of the neck. Similarly, *Lalitavistara*,[221] and *Saundarānanda*[222] of Asvaghoṣa refer to pearl necklaces. Kālidāsa mentions necklaces like *nishka*,[223] *muktāvali*,[224] *tārahāra*,[225] *hāra*,[226] *hāraśekhara*,[227] and *hārayaṣṭi*,[228] Bāṇa [229] speaks of several ornaments worn by Malati and above her breast was portayed a necklace with jewelled pendants (*mālikā*).

Outside India, the early Greek and Roman jewellery was very rich in necklaces. In the Hellenistic period (330-27 B.C.,), the strap-necklaces and chain-necklaces were very popular. In the Roman period (27 B.C. 400 A.D.,), the necklaces were varied, elaborate and artistic. Some of the popular necklaces, like chain-shaped necklaces of the Hellenistic period, continued in the Roman period.[230] However, most of the Indian varieties appear to be of indigenous origin and conception.

ARM-ORNAMENTS : BĀHU-BHŪṢAṆA(S)

The arm-ornaments or *bāhu-bhūṣaṇas* comprise those worn on the upper-arms, forearms and the wrists. The reliefs depict both males and females with armlets of different variety. However, it is again the females that wear ornaments profusely.

216 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 77.
217 *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, 1. 75.
218 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pp. 412-415.
219 *Ibid.*, 412. 16.
220 *Ibid.*, 415. 26.
221 *Lalitavistara*, IX. p. 121.
222 *Saundārānanda*, IV. 19, VI. 5.
223 *Kum.*, II, 19, p. 26.
224 *Raghu.*, XIII, 48, p. 279.
225 *Ibid.*, V, 52, p. 109.
226 *Raghu.*, 70, p. 115.
227 *Ṛtu.*, 1, 6, p. 4.
228 *Ibid.*, 1, 8, II, 25, pp. 5, 13.
229 *Harṣacarita*, pp. 260-261.
230 Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 168, 186-87.

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The armlets, when present on the upper-arm of the males, are not many and are restricted mostly to the members of the higher strata of the society like kings, and gods or celestial beings. This may, probably, indicate that the armlets were not ornaments of daily wear and their use was the sole right of the persons of the higher ranks in the society, as far as the males were concerned.

There appeared to be no such social restrictions for the use of armlets among women. In the reliefs, queens and female attendants are depicted wearing a similar variety of armlets. The females possibly considered it to be their exclusive right to wear bangles on their upper-arms. It is noteworthy that nowhere in the reliefs, the males appear with the usual pile of bangles on their upper-arms. Again, as seen in some of the female figures, the bangles *(kaṇkaṇas)* and wristlets (*prakoṣṭha valayas*) were used in combination; the former being supported by the latter on the wrist. Males wore wristlets or *prakoṣṭha valayas*, which is again attested to by the reliefs.

Thus, the arm-ornaments had three categories of armlets, namely, (i) upper-arm ornaments or armlets—(*keyūras*) or (*aṅgadas*); (ii) bangles or (*kaṅkaṇas*) on the forearms and (iii) wristlets (*prakoṣṭha vālayas*); all of these can be seen in the sculptures :

(i) *Upper-arm ornaments or Armlets* (*keyūras or aṅgadas*)

The reliefs represent five types in this variety. They include (a) an armlet (*Keyūrā)*, wrought with the beaded pattern and edged in by one, two, or more rims; (b) an armlet, wrought with criss-cross or a net pattern and edged in by one rim; (c) a *keyūrā* of six square panels, inset with pearls; and (d) an entwining armlet or *aṅgada* and (e) a pile of bangles *(kaṅkaṇas)* in place of the *keyūra.*

(a) *An armlet* (*keyūra*) *wrought with beaded pattern and edged in by one, two, or more rims* [231]

This type of the upper-arm ornament appears to be the most favoured variety of the *keyūras*, as is evident from their frequent depictions in the reliefs. It appears to be a hollow tube of some metal, like gold or silver, reduced to a circular shape. It is obvious, from the way it is closely fitting the upper-arms, that it was not placed on the upper-arms by inserting the hand through it. Perhaps, it had a clasp and it was fitted round the upper-arm with a screw.

In the sculptures, these armlets are seen, invariably, adorning the upper-arms of the kings, gods, queens, amorous ladies, female attendants, male attendants, male worshippers, etc. It is evident that all categories of people wore this ornament irrespective of their status in the society. The best example of the armlet worn by a king, comes from an unidentified panel:[232] In it, he is shown wearing an armlet with a

231 For close parallels of this ornaments in early Indian art, see Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Bharhut) 33b, 35b, 36a; (Mathurā) 60; (Amarāvatī) 95-c; Sivaramamurtī, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV; LX. 2; Barett, *op. cit.*, pls. VII, X, XIX, XXII, XLI and XLV.

232 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-a.

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beaded pattern, edged in by a single rim on the upper and lower borders. The beads in the mid-portion of the ornament are ovoidal in shape (*Fig. VII, 1.*)

However, it is the gods that show profuse use of this ornament in the reliefs.[233] A fine and distinct example of the armlet, with beaded pattern edged in by one rim, comes from the god, depicted in the panel,[234] illustrating 'the presentation of the child at the *śākya* temple.' Similarly, the ornament that adorns the upper arms of Indra in the panel,[235] illustrating the 'Buddha visited by Indra in the cave of Indraśāla', is the best example of this fashion of the ornament. A clear example of this ornament as worn by the queen is that of queen Māyā depicted in the panel, illustration of 'the casting of the horoscope.'

The next set of people that appear in the reliefs wearing this type of ornament is of amorous ladies. The amorous lady, depicted in the panel,[236] illustrating 'The Buddha Dipaṅkara's prediction regarding Gautama Buddha' reveals an armlet with beaded pattern, edged in by one rim.

This fashion of the upper-arm ornament (*keyūra*) did not confine itself to the aristocratic circles alone, as is known from their innumerable depictions on the upper-arms of the female attendants.[237]

We get a solitary representation[238] of a female *chaurī*-bearer and of the lady in *dohada*, each is seen wearing the armlet under discussion. But a noteworthy feature in the whole range of the reliefs is that this is the only instance where a *chaurī*-bearer occurs with the *keyūra* of the beaded pattern.

Among men and apart from the members of the royalty, the others that are shown wearing this ornament are a male attendant and a male worshipper.

(b) *An armlet, wrought with criss-cross or net pattern and edged in by one rim*

The solitary example of this variety is represented on the upper-arms of *nāgarāja*.[239] The ornament is sculptured very distinctly, revealing the criss-cross pattern and edged in by two thick rims. As is evident from its singular depiction, the people of the Ikshvāku period do not seem to have liked the usage of this criss-cross or net pattern in the armlets, though the same pattern occurs profusely over their leg ornaments.

(c) *A keyūra of six square panels inset with pearls*

A different and an elaborate *keyūra* is to be seen worn by the lady in *dohada* in the panel,[240] depicting 'the gift of the earth.' It appears to have been made by linking

233 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI-a, XXIII-a, XIV-a, b and c, XX-a and b, XLIV-b, XX-a, XIX-d.

234 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI-a.

235 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV-b.

236 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIV-a.

237 *Ibid.*, pls. XX-a, XXXI-b and Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. X-B, cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 33b and 36a.

238 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. X, B.

239 *Ibid*,. pl. VIII-A.

240 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXV-a.

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Fig. VII Personal Ornaments

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six square panels to each other : by wire or hooks : in these panels are laid three rows of beads or pearls (*Fig. VII, 2*). The whole combination appears very artistic.

(d) *An entwining armlet or aṁgada*

This again is a different variety of *aṁgada* and has been represented in the reliefs only once. An amorous person, depicted in the panel,[241] illustrating 'the transport of the relics', wears this ornament. It is a very simple type of *aṁgada*, presumably made of long strips of some metal, rolled in a coil resembling a snake *(Fig. VII, 3)*. Parallel examples of this kind are found in the sculptures of Amaravati and Kanheri.[242] Elaborate and profuse depictions of this type of armlets can be seen at Aihole, Badami[243] etc.. of later period.

It is interesting to note that the snake-bracelet, in a rather substantial form, was known in the Hellenistic period. It is found at Pompeli.[244] In the early centuries of the Christian era, the common form of the bracelet in the Roman period was the one in the shape of a snake surrounding the arm in several spirals.[245]

(e) *A pile of bangles or kaṁkaṇas in place of the keyūras*

The reliefs depict some women with a pile of bangles on their upper-arms. They are to be seen in place of the *keyūras*. The number of the *kaṁkaṇas* ranges from five to twelve. As several of such piles of bangles are carved roughly in the sculptures, it is difficult to know whether they are all one mass or detached. But, in certain cases, irregular placings of the detached bangles are clearly seen. As is evident from the sculptures, the *kaṁkaṇas* are all plain and flat. The material with which they were made might have been some metal, ivory, bone, horn or shell. Similar piles of bangles, of bone or shell, are to be seen profusely adorning the upper-arms of the Lambadi women, presently inhabiting the Kṛishṇā valley. But, what interests us is that this type of ornament occurs in the reliefs, exclusively on the upper-arms of the female figures.

The sculptures depict this type of ornaments on the upper-arms of the queens, amorous ladies, *yakshis*, *Nāgiṇis*, female attendants, including *khaḍgavāhinis*, *cāmaradhāriṇis* and basket carriers,[246] (*Fig. VII, 4*). Of these, the amorous ladies and *chaurī*-bearers appear frequently with this ornament. The *khaḍgavāhinis* are always seen with eight *valayas*[247] and never with any type of the *keyūra*. In two instances, they are shown without *valayas* but never with any other variety of the *keyūras*. In the case of

241 Longhurst, pl. XLII-b.

242 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. 11; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XLV and XXVI.

243 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Aihole, 114, 117 to 121; Badami, pls. 130, 131 etc.

244 O. Seyffert, *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* (London, 1891), p. 144b.

245 Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 187; pl. 61E.

246 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVI-c, XXXIX-a; XXVIII-b, XXXIII-a, XXXII-a, XXXVI-b, XXXVII-a, XXXIX-a, XLII-a, XLII-b, XLIX-b and c; XXXI-b, XL-a, XLIII-b; XX-b; XXIII-c, XXVIII-a, XXX-a; *IAR*, 1958-59, pl. VI-c.

247 *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII-a, XXX-a, XLIII-b, etc.

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the *chaurī*-bearers, again, they are always depicted in the reliefs with *valayas* on their upper-arms except for one or two stray cases.

In two instances queens appear with a pile of bangles in the place of the usual *keyūras*.[248] In their case the number of the bangle ranges from six to eight. The best representation of this type of *keyūra* is to be found worn by the queen depicted in an unidentified panel.[249]

The amorous ladies are depicted in most of the cases with this type of an ornament. The pile of bangles in their case ranged from six to twelve. Minimum of six bangles, piling over the other, occur on the upper-arms of the amorous lady depicted in the panel[250] illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow.' Likewise, the sculpture portraying 'the transport of the relics' reveal twelve *valayas* on the upper-arms of the amorous lady.[251] However, a clear example comes from the armlet of the amorous lady depicted in the panel,[252] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka : in this case, the *valayas* are eight in number to a pile.

We have the depiction of this type of armlet in the case of the qeens of Ālavaka and the two *nāgiṇis*.[253] In both the cases, the number of *valayas* is seven. Again, a pile of bangles numbering nine, is shown over the arm of Māra's daughter.[254] Elsewhere, she is depicted with six only.[255]

The next class that wears the *valayas* in place of *keyūras* is of the female attendants. About five panels[256] reveal them wearing the *valayas* as *keyūras*. The number of bangles in this case range from six to nine.

As pointed above the *chaurī*-bearers and the *khaḍgavāhinis* always appear with *valayas* on their upper-arms except for a few instances. In the case of the *chaurī*-bearers the number of bangles on the upper-arms range from five to eight while in the case of the *khaḍgavāhinis* it is, always, eight save for few instances where their biceps are shown bare. The *khaḍgavāhinis* are the only members who are shown to have a number of bangles on their biceps constantly in the sculptures.[257] There is only one representation of the basket-carrier, in the panel depicting Māndhātu jātaka, where the person is shown wearing the *valayas* in place of the *keyūras*. Again, in a sculpture portraying a lady lying in state she is singularly shown wearing nine *valayas* on her upper-arms.

In one panel, a *chaurī*-bearer is depicted with eight *valayas* flanked on each side by an armlet with large beaded pattern. This reveals the aesthetic taste the people of Ikshvāku period had for the combination of the *alaṅkāras* (ornaments).

248 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-c, and XXXIX-a.

249 *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI-c.

250 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-a.

251 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-b.

252 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX-a.

253 *Ibid.*, pls. XLIX-b and XXXVII-a.

254 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-b.

255 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-a.

256 *Ibid.*, pls. XXVIII-b, XXXI-b, XXXVII-a, XL-c and XLIII-b.

257 *Ibid.*, pls. XXVIII-a, XXX-a, and XLIII-b.

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As regards bangles worn on the upper-arm, an interesting social custom prevails among the Lambadi women. Speaking about the custom, Stuart[258] writes, "Married women are distinguished from the unmarried in that, that they wear their bangles between the elbow and shoulder, while the unmarried have them between the elbow and the wrist." However, this custom did not seem to be in vogue during the Ikshvāku period, as is evident from the innumerable depictions of the females in the reliefs, both in couples and otherwise, that have a pile of bangles both on the forearms and the upper-arms.

Such upper-arm ornaments are very common in early Indian art and occur in the sculptures of Bharhut in Madhya Pradesh, Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, Alluru, Gummadidurru in Andhra Pradesh, Karli and Kanheri in Western India and in Mathura and other Kushan sculptures.[259] It is, however, quite interesting to find the upper-arm ornaments rarely present or nearly absent at Sanchi. While early sculptures from Bharhut, Jaggayyapeta and Amaravati are prolific in depicting these *keyūras* the Sanchi sculptures are significantly silent. This paucity in representation of *keyūras* at Sanchi may be probably due to the local variations.

In the Pāli texts gem-set *keyūras* are known as *ovaṭṭikas*.[260] The entwining *aṅgadas* that were used as an armour for the protection of the upper-arm are referred in the jatakas.[261] It is said of chieftains and wealthy land holders, of the Sangam period, that they wore massive armlets made of gold.[262] Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*[263] prescribes the *keyūra* (armlet) and the *aṅgada* (armbands)[264] as the ornaments (*alaṅkaras*) for males, to be worn above the elbow, and the arm-band (*aṅgada*) and the bangles (*valaya*) as the upper-arm ornaments for females. Kālidāsa speaks of the armlets as *aṅgadas* and *keyūras*.[265] The picturesque description by Bāṇa in the *Kādambarī*,[266] of a *keyūra* entwining the arms 'like a couple of snakes fond of the smell of sandal applied to the body' is illustrated in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculpture by similar entwining armlets. Bāṇa, talking about the wild tribes, records that the snake-hood *keyūra* was the ornament of the *Śabaras*,[267] and interestingly enough, entwined armlets

258 Thurston, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

259 Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 33b, 35b, 36a of Bharhut, pl. 60 of Mathura, 95-c, 925 of Amaravati; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, XLV and LXII, Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. VII, X, XII, XLV, XXVI; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures) pls. I, A and B, II, F; III-G; IV, I; VII, 3; VIII, B and C, IX, 5 & 6; Zimmer *op. cit.*, pl. 60 etc. *ASR*, 1926-27, p. 150, pls. XXXV, XXXVI for Alluru & Gummadidurru; Barrett, *Ter*, pl. 10 and 11; Jaggayyapeta, pl. 37 of Zimmer's, *The Art of Indian Asia*.

260 *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 69; *Cullavagga*, V. 2, 1.

261 *Jātaka*, VI, No. 545, p. 141. cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, figs. 7 and 11.

262 Kanakasabhai, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

263 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 413.

264 *Ibid.*, p. 416.

265 *Raghu.*, VI, 68, p. 136.

266 *Kādambarī*, p. 9.

267 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

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similar to the above find place in the cave sculptures of Badami and Aihole.[268]

(ii) Forearm Ornaments, Bangles or kaṅkaṇa(s)

Bangles for Indian women are sacred as they smybolize *saumaṅgalya* (auspiciousness). Thus, in the *Gāthāsaptaśati*,[269] a bangle is called the *avidhavā lakshaṇa-valaya* (bangle indicating wifehood). However, the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs do not seem to differentiate as no woman is depicted in the reliefs without a bangle on her hand except in the case of two village women illustrated in the panel[270] revealing a village scene. This exception of depicting a woman without a bangle might possibly be due to the sculptor's endeavour to depict a poor class of women who could not afford to have any sort of ornaments.

As seen in the sculptures the bangles depicted independently on the hand are either small—in which case they number from six to eleven, or broad—ranging from three to four. Thus the tendeney for wearing a pile of bangles by women is clearly discernible in the sculptures. It is again interesting to note that the present day Lambadis also wear bangles from the wrist to the shoulder gradually increasing in size.[271]

However, the bangles or *kaṅkaṇas* worn by women independently appear to be simple and plain in the reliefs. Though it is difficult to speculate from the sculptures, about the material of the bangles it can be conjectured from the copper, terracotta, ivory, shell, or bone bangles reported to have been discovered in the recent excavations.[272] The bangles discovered were of round or rectangular or triangular sections. It is quite likely that the richer class wore gold or some other metal bangles and the poor satisfied themselves, probably, with terracotta or shell ones.[273]

Nevertheless, the bangles depicted in the reliefs on the hands of the female figures betray a great similarity, in shape and arrangement, to the rings of ivory or shell worn by the Lambadi women of the present day. Moor,[274] speaking about their ornaments, writes, "The fevourite ornaments appear to be rings of ivory from the wrist to the shoulder regularly increasing in size, so that the ring near the shoulder will be immoderately large, sixteen or eighteen inches or more perhaps in circumference."

Four such bangles are seen on the forearm of Māyā depicted in the panel[275] illustrating 'the casting of the horoscope.' The bangle near the wrist is the smallest of the four, and the fourth or the upper-most is the largest (*Fig. VII, 5.*)

268 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 130, 131 for Bādāmī, and pls. 120 to 123, and pl. 114, 118 for Aihole.

269 *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, vi, 39.

270 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

271 Thurston, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 211.

272 *IAR*, 1954-60.

273 In the *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā*, i. p. 292, ivory bangles are mentioned; *Śaṅkhavalaya* occurs in *Petavotthu* com. 151 in *Kādambarī*, p. 78. Similarly *Śaṅkhakas* are referred in *Śisupālavadha*, xiii, 41.

274 Thurston, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 211.

275 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XX-a; cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 32 of Bharhut. Comparable broad glass bangles occur at Dharaṇikoṭā in pre-Arretine period.

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Again, a different type of bangle is seen on the wrists of the queen of Ālavaka depicted in the panel[276] illustrating 'conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka' : she is shown wearing eight small *kaṅkaṇas* piled up one over the other, on her wrist.

As can be seen from the sculptures, both aristocrats and commoners among the female section wore similar bangles. As already stated, if at all any difference existed, is could be in the material with which the bangles were made. Again in the reliefs it is the female attendant class that reveals the bangles on the wrist frequently. The number of bangles ranged between six as seen in the case of Māra's daughter depicted in the panel[277] illustrating 'Māra's assault' and eleven as seen on the hand of the female attendant illustrated in the panel[278] depicting the Daśaratha Jātaka. However, nine bangles are commonly seen on the arms of the female attendants depicted in the sculptures.[279]

The *khaḍgavāhinis* always appear uniformly in the reliefs[280] wearing eight *valayas* on their forearms as is the case with the *keyūras* on their upper-arm so far as the depiction of the armlets (*alaṅkāras*) on the *khaḍgavāhinīs* is concerned the sculptor it appears maintained meticulous uniformity throughout.

In another instance,[281] a female attendant is portrayed with eleven bangles on her arms (Pl. XXIII).

In early Indian art the occurrence of bangles exclusively on the hands of both the males and the females is common. The sculptures from Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati and Mathura etc., attest to this beyond doubt.[282] In the Gandhara sculptures women are shown wearing several bangles on their wrists.[283].

In literature, as pointed out already, the core of the poem *Gāthāsaptaśatī* denotes the bangles as *avidhavālakshṇavalaya*.[284] In the *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā* there is a reference to the bangles made of ivory.[285] The ancient Tamil classics refer to the chank (*Turbinella pyrum. Linn*) cutting industries in the ancient Pāṇḍyan kingdom during the early centuries of the Christian era. The Tamil poem "*Maduraikkanchi*" of the 1st-2nd centuries A.D., refers to the ancient cities Korkai and Kayal as great emporia for

276 P.R. Ramachandra Rao, *Art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā* (Madras, 1956), pl. XVIII.

277 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-a; also cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 9 of Sānchī.

278 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a; cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 876 of Amarāvatī; and Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII : but in this case a wrist-let also is associated.

279 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII-a, XLVII-a; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI.

280 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-a; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XX.

281 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-a.

282 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Sānchī) pls. 9, 11a, 5, 6, 17; Marshall & Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XIII, XV, XVI, XVIII, XXII, XXVII, XXXIV; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Bharhut) pls. 32, Bhājā, pl. 43, Mathurā, pl. 60; Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, fig. 8, 10 etc. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Amarāvatī), pl. 87b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, (Amarāvatī), pls. XV.

283 Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

284 *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, VI, 39.

285 *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, i, p. 292.

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chank cutting industry.[286] Again, Bharata[287] in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* classifies *valayas* as the ornaments of the upper-arm and *vajura*[288] and *svecchitika* as the ornaments of the forearm, for the females. Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta* speaks of the *valayas* or bangles known to his period[289] Later, Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* and Mēgha in his *Śiśupālavadha* also mention the *śankhavalayas* and *śankhakas* (conch bangles) at several places:[290] these continued to linger on to the present day especially in Bengal and Bihar.[291]

(iii) *Wristlets or prakoṣṭha valayas.*

A considerable variety of these ornaments is represented in the reliefs. They appear on both male and female wrists. Sometimes, especially in the case of males, *prakoṣṭha valaya* was worn singly but in the case of females it was invariably worn as a support for two, three, or a pile of bangles. Some male figures also are found wearing two or three *prakoṣṭha valayas* on each wrist, all of the same shape and pattern, or each of different shape and pattern. Thus the different varieties of wristlets revealed in the reliefs include (a) a *prakoṣṭha valaya* of beaded pattern, (b) a hollow beaded wristlet edged in with one or more rims, (c) beaded strings encircling the wrist, (d) a chainshaped wristlet, (e) wristlet with rope or cable pattern, (f) a plain wristlet and (g) wristlet with the combination of bangles.

These varieties of the *prakoṣṭha valaya* do not, however, exhaust the range of its variety as seen in our sculptures. But owing to their rough representations it is not possible to give the description of the rest as their shape, form, and ornamentation cannot be made out distinctly. But an attempt is made to discern the various types of wristlets depicted in the reliefs as far as possible.

(a) *A prakoṣṭha valaya of beaded pattern*

This fashion of the wristlet has a cylindrical form and a beaded pattern.[292] In the reliefs they are seen worn by kings, males of the amorous couples, gods, *yakshas*, dwarfs, *nāgas* and *chaurī*-bearers. Of these, the first three are seen frequently with this type of ornament. As would be seen in the majority of cases two wristlets adorned each hand. But the practice of wearing one wristlet on each hand is not, however, altogether absent. A few examples of this mode of wearing the wristlet can be seen in the case of some of the kings, *yakshas*, dwarfs and gods.

286 See for chank bangle industry and its antiquity, Hornell, James, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, 1910-1914, pp. 407-11 ff.

287 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 416.

288 This resembles the *bāju* ornament used in the rural areas of the Bengal.

289 *Meghadūta*, 1, 60, p. 47.

290 *Kādambarī*, p. 78, *Śiśupālavadha*, XIII, 41.

291 Vide J. Hornell's article on 'Details of Bengal Manufacture' in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III, 1910-14, pp- 436 ff. for modern bangle industries in India.

292 Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Sānchī), pl. 27; Kārlī, pls. 80, 81. Amarāvatī, pl. 86a Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XV,XXIII, *Ajantā*, pl. VI.

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This type of wristlet seemed to have been very popular among the kings as is evident from the sculptures. As many as ten panels reveal the kings wearing wristlets of the beaded pattern. Of these, two panels[293] depicting Siddhārtha and the mighty bow and the Campeyya jātaka illustrate king Siddhārtha and the king of Banaras respectively, with one wristlet of this type on each hand. (*Fig. VII, 6*). In the rest of the eight panels the kings are seen wearing two wristlets of beaded pattern on each hand (*Fig.VII,8*) One interesting feature in the reliefs is that the *nāga* kings invariably appear with two wristlets of beaded variety on their wrists.[294] The next class that is depicted in the reliefs with beaded pattern wristlets is of the amorous persons. They invariably have two wristlets on each of their hands. As a deviation to this common practice of showing two wristlets on each hand of the male in amorous couples the amorous person depicted in the panel, [295] illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park,' reveals a different mode of wearing these wristlets. He is shown wearing two wristlets on one hand while on the other he has only one.

It is again the gods that appear frequently in the reliefs wearing this type of an ornament. As is evident from the reliefs wearing of two beaded-wristlets on each hand by the god in a panel seems to be a common feature. A panel[296] illustrating 'the Buddha preaching in the deer park' at Sarnath' reveals a god wearing only one wristlet on each hand instead of the usual two. In a panel [297] illustrating 'the death of the Buddha,' a god is shown wearing the beaded wristlets in a different manner from those as seen in case of the males in amorous couples. In this case two wristlets adorn the right hand of the god while the left hand has three wristlets of beaded pattern.

Except for these two examples the gods invariably appear in the reliefs with two wristlets on each forearm. In another panel,[298] illustrating 'the *Bodhisattava* descending from the heaven in the form of a white elephant,' (pl. X) all the represented gods shown wearing two wristlets of beaded pattern. The frequent occurrence of this type of beaded wristlets indicates their popular usage among the people of the Ikshvāku period. In some panels *yakshas* and dwarfs also appear with this type of the wristlets.[299]

(b) *A hollow beaded wristlet edged in with one or more rims*

This variety[300] as it appears in the reliefs is very much akin to the former type except for the edged rim. It was probably hollow and had a clasp by means of

293 Longhurst, *op. cit.*. pl., XXXII-a, XXXVIII-b.

294 *Ibid.*, pls. XL-a, XXXIX-b, XLVIII-a

295 Ibid., pl. XXIX-b.

296 *Ibid.*, pl, XIV-a.

297 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-c.

298 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX-d.

299 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX-b.

300 Compare Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX; Zimmer, *op. cit.* Sānchī pls. 9, IIa, IIb, 17, 18; Kārlī, pl. 13; Amarāvatī, pl. 87, 95c; Ajanta; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII;*Lalit Kala Akadamy*, pl. IX,XXIII.

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which it was fitted round the wrist. It the reliefs kings, princes, gods, amorous couples, queens, female attendants, etc., are depicted with this kind of wristlet on their wrists. The wristlets are seen edged in by one or two rims. But the kings appear showing the use of both the varieties.[301]

The amorous couples portrayed in some of the reliefs[302] are also shown with this fashion of the wristlets. The best example, of the two beaded wristlets with one rim, comes from the amorous lady depicted in the panel[303] illustrating 'the lady Amarā and the four wise men'. In an unidentified sculpture[304] two queens are shown wearing, on each wrist, two beaded wristlets edged in by one rim. This type of ornament appears to have been used by all classes of people such as female attendants, grooms, prathihāris etc.[305]

That this type of ornment was worn by all grades of people can be known from the panel[306] illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion.' In this panel the king Kappina, his minister, male attendant, all wear similar type of wristlets edged in with one rim.

(c) *Beaded strings encircling the wrist*

In an unidentified panel[307] the king is shown with a couple of beaded strings round each of his wrists instead of a *prakoṣṭha valaya.* The beads, or pearls, are large in shape and threaded close together. However, this type of the wristlet can be made out only in this single instance.

(d) *A chain shaped wristlet*

This was either a real chain of gold with solid or hollow links or a wristlet of one metal, either gold or any other metal, wrought with a chain shaped pattern. It was rolled into cylindrical form and resolved into a circular shape.

From the sculptures it appears that in majority of the cases gods wore this type of chain-shaped wristlet. Thus, Indra is also shown with two such wristlets around each wrist in a panel. Three panels[308] illustrating 'the Māndhātu jātaka', 'a *chakravartin* and his jewels; and an unidentified panel reveal Kings and a *chakravartin* wearing similar type of wristlet.

The best examples of this variety can be seen on the wrists of some of the amorous persons. The amorous person depicted in the panel[309] illustrating 'the Nāga king Apalāla subdued by the Buddha,' offers a clear example of this variety. He is

301 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-a, XLVII-a; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLII-a, XLIII-b, and XLV-a.

302 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XIV-C, XXXIII-c, XLI-b; *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A.

303 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. XXXVIII-a

304 *Ibid.*, pls. XXVI-c.

305 *Ibid.*, pls. XXXIX-b, XL-a; Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, Pls. XLVII and XI.

306 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, XXV-a, pl. XXV-a.

307 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-b; cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl, 32a, 34a and 35a (Bhārhut); (*Lalit Kala Akademy*), Ajantā, pl. XII.

308 Ramcahandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, XXXI-c XLI-a.

309 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XL-a.

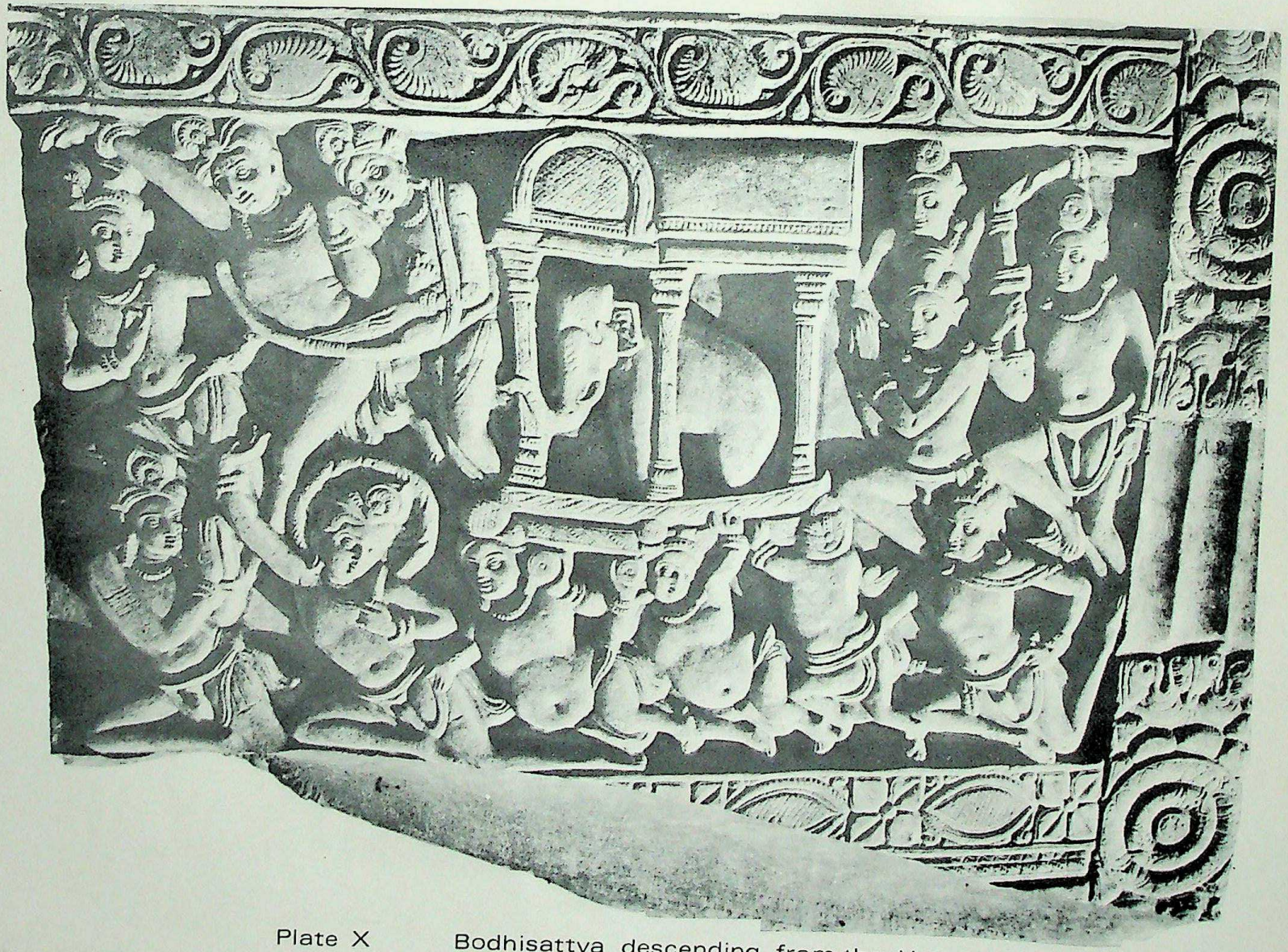

Plate X Bodhisattva descending from the Heaven in the form of white elephant

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shown wearing two chain-shaped wristlets on each wrist. In some panels[310] female attendants are also shown wearing this kind of wristlets or the *prakoṣṭha valaya.*

(e) *Wristlet with rope or cable pattern*

On an ornate pillar[311] a dwarf is represented wearing this variety of wristlet. The wristlet is circular tubing and wrought with twisted or rope or cable pattern. This is the only representation that the reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍā can offer of this variety, (*Fig.* VII, 7).

(f) *A plain wristlet*

The sculptures also reveal plain wristlets on some of the male and female figures : when such wristlets were worn they were usually in a pair. That it was the males that wore this kind of plain wristlet more frequently is apparent from their recurrent depiction in the reliefs.[312]

However, this variety of wristlets did not confine itself exclusively to males. Some of the female figures also reveal such a type of wristlet. A queen depicted in the panel[313] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka,' and the amorous lady depicted[314] in the panel illustrating Campeyya Jātaka offer similar type of plain wristlet.

(g) *Wristlets with the combination of bangles*

Like leg ornaments the wrist ornaments too were worn by combination, of different varieties, together. Four such combinations can be seen in the relief sculptures; (g-i) beaded wristlet with simple bangles; (g-ii) beaded wristlet edged in by one or two rims with bangles; (g-iii) chain shaped wristlet in association with bangles, and (g-iv) plain wristlet with bangles. These variations would reveal that the *valayas* were invariably worn in association with different kinds of wristlets.

(g-i) *Beaded wristlet with simple bangles*

This combination of the wristlets seems to be the most favoured one as is evident from its frequent depictions in the sculptures. It is mostly seen on female wrists : its association with males is rather rare.

The beaded wristlets in association with bangles are a common feature of depiction in the amorous ladies.[315] The number of beaded wristlets ranges from one to three while the number of the bangles ranges from two to eight or even more. This variation in the number of both, the wristlets and the bangles, indicates that

310 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XLIII-b, XXXIX-b.

311 *Ibid.*, IX-d.

312 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-b, XXXVII-a XXXVIII-a, XXXIII-c, XXXI-b and XLIX-b.

313 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-b

314 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

315 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIV-a, XXXVI-a, XXXV-b, XXX-a, XXXIV-b, XXXIII-c, XXXII-a, XXVIII-b.

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there was no standardization in the wearing of this combination of wristlets by the amorous ladies (Pl. XI).

(g-ii) *Beaded wristlet edged in by one or two rims with bangles*

This combination of the wristlet appears to be less popular in the reliefs than the one above. Only amorous couples[316] and a few female attendants[317] appear with this combination of wristlets. Thus, the amorous person depicted in an unidentified sculpture wears triple beaded wristlets edged in by one rim along with a plain broad bangle.

(g-iii) *Chain shaped wristlet in association with bangles*

There is only a solitary example of this combination in the reliefs. An amorous lady depicted in the panel[318] illustrating 'the *devas* congratulating the Buddha after his enlightenment,' offers this variety of combination. She is shown wearing a chain-shaped wristlet in association with six bangles on her wrist (Pl. IV).

(g-iv) *Plain wristlet with bangles*

This combination too, is rarely depicted in the sculptures: only in two instances. An inscribed frieze[319] depicts the male and the female of an amorous couple with this type of ornament on their wrists. The male wears a plain wristlet along with three plain bangles and the amorous lady presents two plain wristlets in association with four bangles.

The wristlets or *prakoṣṭha valayas* are very common in early Indian art and literature. The Suṅga, Sātavāhana and Kushan schools depict them profusely.[320] It is stated in the *Gāthāsaptaśātī* that the golden strings (*Kaṇaḍora*) were worn by women and the chain shaped *prakoṣṭha valayas* depicted in the sculptures may probably represent this.[321] In Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* the *rucika* and the *uccitika* are said to be wrist ornaments for males.[322] It is interesting to note that in the early centuries of the Christian era several types of bracelets were known to the Roman world.[323]

WAIST ORNAMENTS OR GIRDLES

It is sometimes argued that clothing developed from the ornaments.[324]

316 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-a, XXXVI-a, Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 76a.

317 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXVI-a and XXXIX-b.

318 *Ibid.*, XXXVII-b.

319 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A.

320 Zimmer. *op. cit.*, (Sānchī) pls. 9, 11a, 11b, 17,20; Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.* pls. XXIX, XXXVI etc; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Bharhūt) pls. 31b, 32 32a, 32b, 32c, 34a, 35a etc.; Jaggayyāpeta, pl. 37, Mathurā, 74a, 76a; Agrawala, *op, cit.*, pls. I, VI, VII, IX; Zimmer, *op, cit.*, (Kārlı) pl. 82, 83; (Amarāvatī) pls, 86a, 87, 90, 92, 95c; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XV, XVII XXIII; XLI; Lalit Kala Akademy - *Ajanta* pl. VI. IX, XII.

321 *Gāthāsaptasatī*, 1.80

322 *Nāṭyasāstra*, p.413.

323 Higgins, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189.

324 See for various theories as regards the origin of clothing, *H. Hiler, From Nudity to Raiment*, 1(Landon, 1940).

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Plate XI Mithuna Couple

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Among the ornaments it is more true of the girdles. "In any case" says Hiler "the girdle developed into the breech-clout, kilt, trousers and skirt in one direction and the sword-belt and cuirass in the other.[325] The bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reveal the girdles more as a part of dress than as a separate ornament. The decorated *laṅgoṭis* that appear in the reliefs, at times independently without being secured by a waist-band serve both purposes—of clothing and ornamentation. In the sculptures in some cases, we see the waist-band serving the purpose of a grip in holding the sword. The girdle, appearing as a separate ornament, has a functional value also. It helps the garment to remain firmly in position at the waist. This idea of strength inherent in the girdle is possibly indicated in our sculptures; when we find an *uttarīya* or scarf tied round the waist. It is but a common sight to see people tighten their belts, or firmly tie a scarf round their waist when engaging in an arduous manual labour. It is usual in the case of the labourers of the present day. Similarly we find the people in the reliefs with their *uttarīyas* or scarfs tied round their waists when they have to walk long distances. This we find in the case of Channa the groom, who appears with a scarf around his waist, when he is seen walking in front of the procession in the panel depicting the *mahābhinishkramaṇa* scene.[326]

Thus waist ornaments like the *mekhalas* (belts), *kaṭī-sūtras* (loin-cords or waist-belts), *śṛṅkhalas* (chains) and decorated *laṅgoṭi* are seen sculptured in the reliefs. The waist-band which also serves the purpose, as a part of dress and girdle, is not dealt with in this section as it has been discussed fully under costumes.

(i) *Beaded belt* (*Maṇi-mekhalā*) *with clasp*

The reliefs represent two varieties of beaded belts, namely, the beaded-belt with a clasp in the centre and the one of a plain variety. The former is a belt composed of a number of strands of beads with a clasp provided in the centre. It adorned the waists of the amorous ladies or the ladies in *dohada*. The number of strings of beads that constituted the *mekhalā* ranges from one to four or more. As can be seen from the sculptures when this type of ornament was worn the waist-band generally, was not used, and in a majority of these cases even the *laṅgoṭi* is absent. The clasp in the centre of the belt, besides its decorative value, gives a firm grip to the *mekhalā*.

As for their material it might be said that, it was either gold, silver, or some other metal and fashioned in the same way as their necklaces and wristlets.[327]

We find an excellent example of the *mekhalā*, with a circular clasp in the centre, on the waist of two ladies performing *dohada* in the panel[328] depicting the Māndhātu jātaka. Their belts are decorated with a row of beads or gems and have a

325 Hiler, *op. cit.*, p. 133

326 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl XXVIII-c

327 Shamasastry, *op. cit.*, pl. p. 84.

328 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII-a.

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circular clasp in the centre: the ends of the clasp are interlocking. In both the cases, waist-bands and *langoṭis* are absent. Their *mekhalas* a are tied round the waist independently. Parallel examples of this can be had in the paintings of Ajanta. The painting depicting 'the toilet scene' there reveals a female attendant wearing a *mekhalā* of this type.[329]

Depiction of a *maṇi-mekhalā*, with two rows of beads and a circular clasp in the centre, comes from an inscribed frieze[330] (Pl. XII). Here an amorous lady, too, is shown wearing the *mekhalā* as described above; in this case also the ornament adorns the waist independently, and as usual, the waist-band and the *langoṭī* are absent (*Fig. VII, 9*). A more elaborate *mekhalā* (belt) is shown worn by an amorous lady depicted in an unidentified sculpture.[331] Her belt is tied over the *langoṭī* and consists of three rows of large beads having a circular clasp to fasten it. The parallel examples of this can be seen in the sculptures of Mathura[332] and in paintings of Ajanta.[333]

We have two other instances of this type of a *mekhalā* in the reliefs these are comparatively more elaborate and distinct. The first of these is provided by an amorous lady depicted on an inscribed frieze slab.[334] This is a clear example of a *maṇi-mekhalā* illustrated in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. A beaded belt consisting of four rows of beads and a broad clasp, quite different from those that have been described hitherto, adorns the waist of this amorous lady (*Fig. VII, 10*) : here, and again, the ornament is worn independently. The second instance is seen in the female attendant revealed in the panel[335] illustrating the Māndhātu jātaka (Pl. XIII). Since she is not shown facing the spectator, it is not possible to know the type of clasp she wears; it could be that she is without a clasp in her belt. Her belt is decorated with several rows of small beads which possibly represent *mekhalākalāpa* mentioned in the Sanskṛit literature. Some, if not all, of these beads constituting the *mekhalā* could be of sapphire as referred to in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hala.[336] In this case the belt is tied over the *langoṭī* and has a broad border, however, it appears to have no rim on the margins. This type of *mekhalā* (belt), with four or more rows of large beads and a clasp in the centre, is very common in the sculptures of Mathura[337] and those of the second century A.D., on the *Chaitya* facade of Kārli.[338]

Outside India and as early as the late Minoan and Mycenaean periods

329 Pl. IX, published by Lalit Kala Akadami (New Delhi, 1956).

330 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-a.

331 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-a; cf. pl. IX, *Lalit Kala Akadamy* (New Delhi, 1956).

332 V. S. Agrawala, *Masterpieces of Mathura sculpture* (Varanasi, 1965), pl. VIII, fig. 10.

333 Pl. IX, *Lalit Kala Akadamy* (New Delhi, 1956), Yazdani, *Ajanta* pl. IV, LXIV-a and b.

334 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-a.

335 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-b; cf. pls. 81 to 83.

336 *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, VI, 74.

337 Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pls. VI. fig. vii; pl. V. fig. viii; pl. IX, figs. xi and xii, also cf. Joshi, *op. cit.*, P. 217, 219; figs, 708 to 710

338 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pls. 80, 81, 82 and 83.

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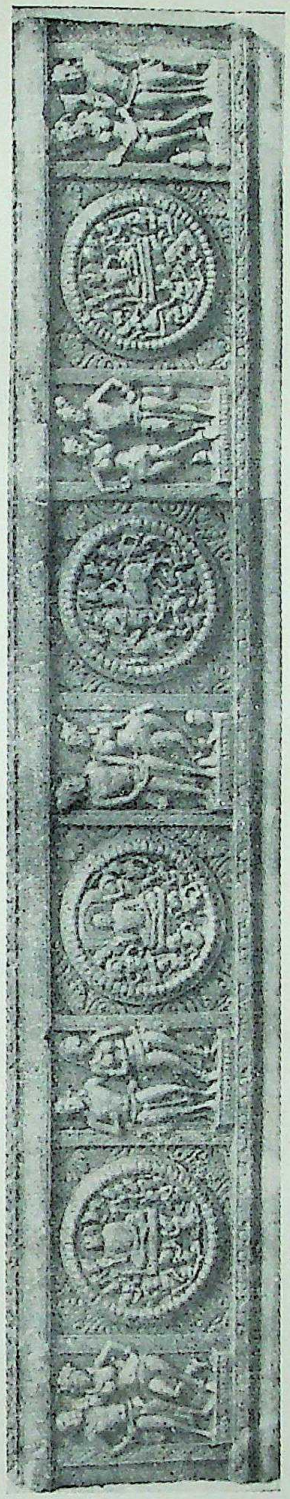

Plate XII Inscribed frieze slab

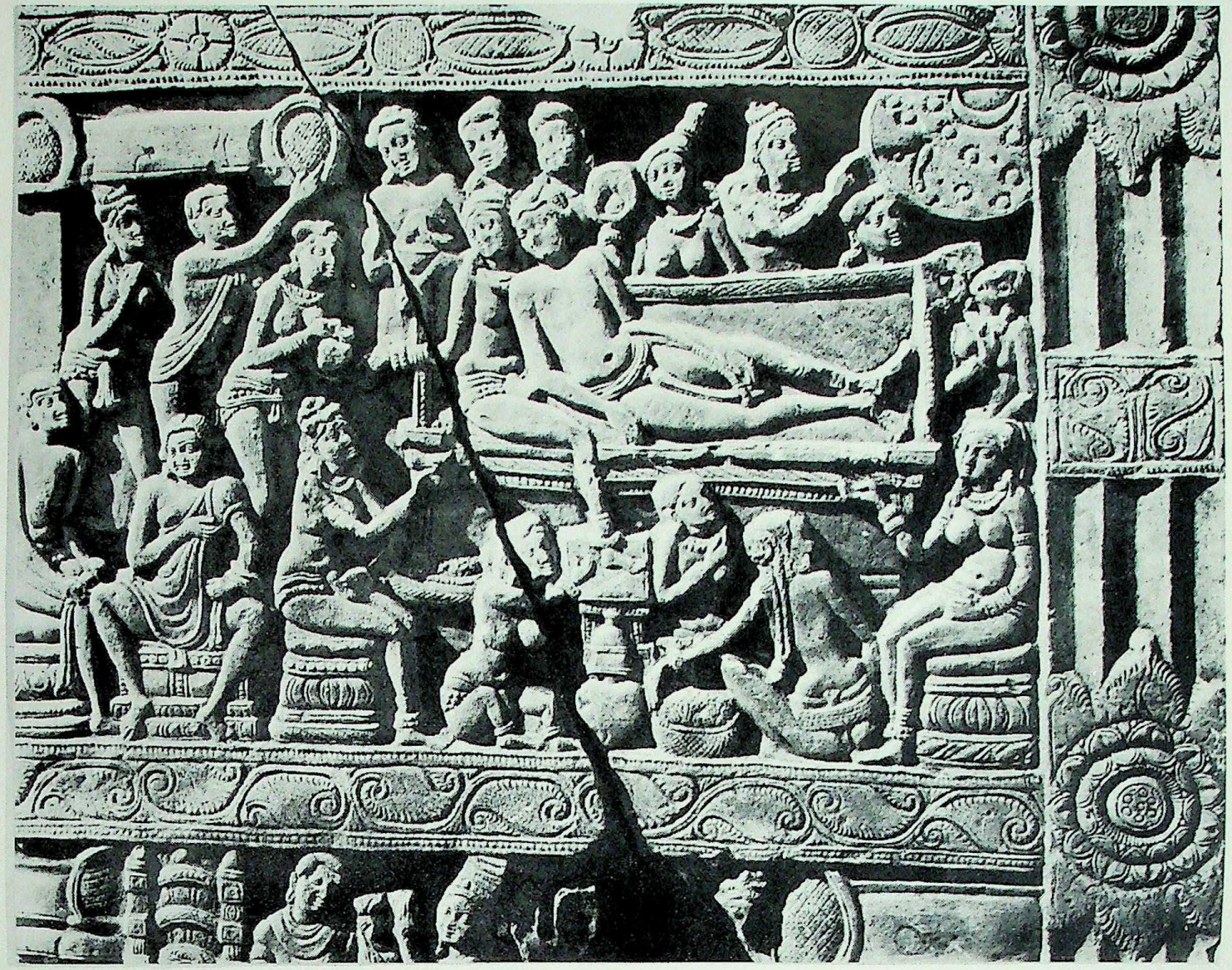

Plate XIII Mandhatu Jātaka

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(1600-1100 B.C.,) the belt-ornaments were known.[339] In early Etruscan period (600-400 B.C.,) clasps for narrow belts in the form of pairs of acorns (setting or rising stars) are reported to have been found in the tombs at Populonia[340] in 600 B.C., and are exhibited in the British Museum.[341] Hellenistic (330-27 B.C.,) belts with Heracles-knots and later, Roman era belts are all well known.[342] But in India the introduction of the clasps in the belt seems to be rather late. Except for one stray and doubtful example at Bharhut[343] the clasps are absent at Sanchi and in the early sculptures of Amaravati. They become more prominent in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Mathura. Even at Bharhut, the identification of the solitary clasp is doubtful: the rectangular clasp, if at all it was so, is not quite clear; in this, one can see the continuation of the last row of beads of the *mekhalā* clearly over, possibly the lower line of, what could be the clasp. In view of complete absence of the clasp (considering the one at Bharhut as negligible since no other sculpture represents there a clasp) in the early sculptures and its prominent appearance at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā it is quite likely that its introduction in the belt was due to foreign influence. Probably it came into India along with the Kushans and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā with the Scythians.

(ii) *Beaded belt (maṇi-mekhalā) without clasp*

The beaded-belt of plain variety without a clasp also occurs in the reliefs more than once. It is generally seen adorning the amorous ladies, ladies performing *dohada* and female attendants. In this type also the rows of beads range from one to three. Invariably, it is worn independently and in no case either the *langoṭī* or the waist-band is seen when this ornament is worn.

A simple belt, of a single row of small beads edged in by rims on the two borders, is to be seen worn above the waist by a lady performing *dohada* in the panel,[344] illustrating 'the death of the Buddha': the beads are comparatively small but the whole *mekhalā* is broadened by its flared rims. Since the entire panel is crudely represented we cannot have the details. But we have two clear instances of the beaded belt consisting of two rows of beads depicted in the panels[345] illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow' and 'the prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden.'

The best example of the beaded belt, of plain variety, consisting of three

339 Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

340 *Ibid.*, p. 142

341 *BMCJ*, nos. 2322-3; F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery*, Greek, *Etruscan and Roman, in the Deptt. of Ant iqiuties, British Museum* (London, 1911).

342 Higgins, *op cit.*, p. 173, & pl. 46; see also Oskar Seyffert, *Dictionary of classical Antiquities* (London, 1891), p. 144b.

343 Barua, *op. cit.*, Book III, pl. XXX-23.

344 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXIX-c; also cf. Ajanta, pl. IX. *Lalit Kala Akademy* (New Delhi, 1956) and Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pl. IV, pl. LXIV.

345 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXII-a and XXXVI-a; Also cf. Zimmer, *Sanchi*, pl. IIb; Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi*, vol. 3, pl. XLI, vol. 2, XXVI, XXX.

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rows of beads, is offered by an amorous lady depicted in an inscribed frieze slab.[346] She wears a beaded belt of this type independently around her waist (Pl. XII). Again similar types of ornaments are to be seen around the waists of female attendants, a *chaurī*-bearer and an amorous lady.[347] A sculpture now housed in the Musée Guimet (Paris) depicts the scene of a "sleeping women." In this a voluptuous woman is shown precisely, wearing a similar *mekhalā* consisting of three rows of beads.[348]

Maṇi-mekhalas of plain variety, without clasps, also occur at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Goli, and Mathura etc. But one can see the refinement in the *Maṇi-mekhalas* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, in the matter of lesser heaviness of the ornament, as compared to that of the others. Previous *mekhalās* depicted in the early sculptures are of large beads and the number of strands in each ranges mostly between four and six as seen at Bharhut,[349] Sanchi[350] etc. In contrast these *mekhalas* depicted in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā tend to reveal fewer number of beaded strands ranging upto three only, and that too with meagre frequency. The beads that decorate these *mekhalas* in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs are also comparatively smaller than the large globular beads shown in Bharhut and Sanchi sculptures. Thus the *mekhalā* shows more refinement by lessening the heaviness of the ornament.

(iii) *The chain or Śrnkhalā*

That chains of gold or silver were in vogue and were used as girdles in the Ikshvāku period is attested by the reliefs more than once. They appear in the sculptures as worn by the queens, amorous ladies, and female attendants like *chaurī*-bearers and basket-carriers. A clear example of the *śṛnkhalā* can be seen in the girdle worn by queen Māyā.[351] Though the *śṛnkhalā* is not completely seen a portion of it, on her right hip, clearly shows its existence: three links, ovoidal in shape and, clasped within each other can be made out distinctly. The whole appearance of the ornament leans more on the side of a chain than that of a strings of beads. This will be clear from its comparison with the rows of beads which adorn the *langoṭis* on her attendants that are seen standing by her side (*Fig. VII, 15*).

A *chaurī*-bearer depicted in an unidentified panel[352] has a *śṛnkhalā* but in a different style: to this *śṛnkhalā* a row of beads is attached. The links of the chain and the beads suspended from it become clear on comparison with the rows of beads adorning the *langoṭī* of the queen and that of the *chaurī*-bearer depicted in the same panel. The absence of the *langoṭī* in the present case is clear from the absence of its

346 *IAR*, 1956-57, Pl. LVII-A; cf. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 XXVI, LVIII.

347 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXVI-a, XXXIII-a and c.

348 Fig. 2 facing p. 70 in *Rūpam*, Nos. 38-39 (April-July, 1929). Also see Hackin, *op. cit.*, Nos. 4 and 5.

349 Zimmer. *op. cit.*, pls. 31a, 33a, b and c, 36a.

350 *Ibid.*, pl. 15, 22; Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, XXXIII, XXXI.

351 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a,

352 *Ibid.*, XXX-c.

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nīvibandha in the front (Pl. XIX). This is the only instance of this type of *śṛnkhalā* which the reliefs offer at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

Again, another type of *sṛnkhalā* can be seen on the waist of the princess Yasodharā depicted in the relievo panel[353] illustrating 'the *Mahābhinishkramaṇa* of the prince Siddhāratha.' She is shown wearing a chain constituting interlinked circlets-one over the other.

(iv) *An independant string of bead: Kaṭi Sūtra*

The reliefs offer very meagre representations of *kaṭi sūtras*, this may, probably, indicate their comparatively less popularity than that of the *mekhalās* (belts) described above. A fine example of the *kaṭi sūtra*, however, can be seen in the case of the female attendant depicted in the panel[354] illustrating 'conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka.' She is shown wearing a string of large beads independently around the waist: the beads are ovoidal or globular in shape (*Fig. VII, 14*). A precisely similar type of *kaṭi sūtra* can be seen in the unearthed plastic art objects: a terracotta female figure discovered at Nāgārajakoṇḍā from Monastery II reveals a *kaṭi sūtra*, around her waist;[355] she is seen wearing a string of large beads. The *langoṭī* is absent and probably the lady is nude. It appears that mostly the depicted amorous ladies favoured this ornament.'

(v) *Ornamented langoṭī*

The sculptures depict almost all the females in ornamented *langoṭis*. Since these *langoṭis* terminate well above the thighs, they have been described under the ornaments of the waist.

The *langoṭis* in all the cases have *nīvibandhas* in the front covering the private-parts. Probably these served the function of the *mānabillas* that are used to this day to conceal the private-parts by some girls of the Andhra Pradesh and Mysore region.

For the decoration of the *langoṭis* three fashions can be clearly discernible in our sculptures, (a) the *langoṭis* ornamented with a single row of large beads (or pearls or gems) on the lower skirt; (b) *langoṭis* decorated with two such rows of beads; (c) those decorated with three or more rows of small beads that, some times, cover the entire surface of the garment.

(a) *An ornamented langoṭī comprising a row of large beads*

This fashion of the ornamented *langoṭī* is mostly seen among the depicted female attendants, queens, amorous ladies, ladies in *dohada*, and *apsaras* in the reliefs. Of these, female attendants appear more frequently with this type of the *longoṭī* than others. A clear instance of this fashion of the *langoṭī* is provided by a female

353 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XLV-D.

354 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLIX-b; also *cf. Marshall* and Foucher, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, pls. XI, XVIII, XXIV cf. Joshi, *op. cit.*, P. 219, fig. 711.

355 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, VII-a.

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attendant depicted in the panel[356] illustrating 'Sagata and the Nāga of the mango ferry'. She is shown wearing a *langoṭī* to which a row of beads, perhaps ovoidal in shape, is attached in the lower margin. But no waist-band is seen tied round her waist. Similar is the fashion of the *langoṭis* worn by the female attendants depicted in the panel[357] illustrating 'the casting of the horoscope.' But in this case, a plain waist-band can be seen tied over the *langoṭī* (*Fig. VII, 11*).

(b) *A langoṭī ornamented with two strings of large beads on the lower skirt* (*Fig. VII, 12*).

That this type of decorated *langoṭī* was favoured by many sections of the society is attested by its frequent depictions in the sculptures. Several female attendants including *pratīhāris* and *khaḍgavāhinis*, queens, princesses, amorous ladies and *nāgiṇis* are shown with such a decorated *langoṭī* with or without a *kamarabandha*. This fashion of *langoṭī* was so much in vogue during the Ikshvāku period that even at times the rural women are shown wearing them.[358] However, it is the female attendant that adopted it mostly as compared to others. Many panels[359] depict the female attendants with this type of a decorated *langoṭī*.

(c) *A langoṭī ornamented with three or more rows of beads or pearls, or gems*

Like the variety above, this type of decorated *langoṭī* was also favoured by the women folk, as can be seen in the sculptures. The female attendants including *chaurī*-bearers, queens and amorous ladies are seen wearing this type of decorated *langoṭī*. Of these, the amorous ladies appear in this dress more frequently than others. However, the best examples of this variety are to be seen in the case of a femal *chaurī*-bearer or *cāmaradhāriṇī* depicted in an unidentified panel.[360] She wears the decorated *langoṭī* in the fashion described previously. The rows of large beads, skirted on the lower border of the *langoṭī*, can be distinctly seen. Similarly, very clear and beautiful instance of this fashion of *langoṭī* is provided by an amorous lady depicted in the panel[361] illustrating 'the admission of the six Śākya princes and the barber Upālī to the order.' Her *langoṭī* shows three distinct rows of beads; a *kamarabandha* which appears like a rolled piece of cloth is seen tied over it (Pl. V.)

In one instance,[362] an amorous lady wears a decorated *langoṭī*, consisting of four rows of beads and these almost cover the entire part of the *langoṭī*. In this instance though the fourth row is mostly concealed by the *kamarabandha* that is tied

356 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII-a,

357 *Ibid.*, pl. XX-a.

358 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A

359 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI-a, XXX-b, XXI-b, XXXVI-a, XXXVIII-b, XL-a, XLVII-a.

360 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXVI-b

361 *Ibid.*, pl., XXXIV-b.

362 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX-a. depicting Mānbhātu Jātaka.

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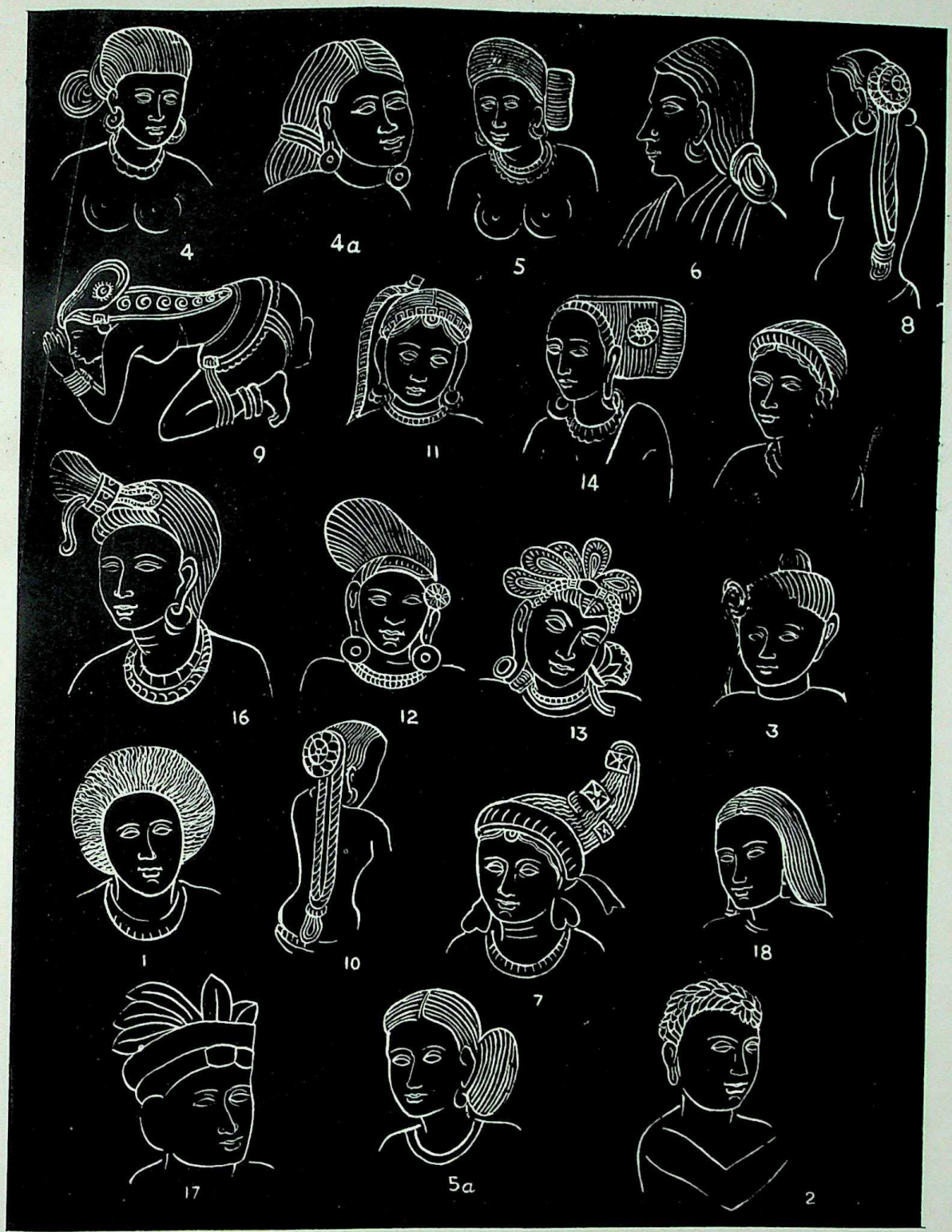

Fig. VIII Coiffures

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round the waist diagonally, one can see the fourth row of beads with an amount of certainly (*Fig. VII, 13, 16*).

One noteworthy feature of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs is that the decorated *langoṭī* is seen here worn by every female. This is rarely present (or nearly absent) in the sculptures of Bharhut, Sanchi, the early sculptures of Amaravati, and those found in the western Indian caves. Perhaps this fashion of the *langoṭī* was adopted by the Kṛishṇā valley people from the *Ābhīras* whose contacts with them are established beyond doubt from the epigraphs discovered in the region. It is interesting to note that the present day *Ahirs*, the cowherd class of Uttar Pradesh who claim their origin from the *Ābhīras*, wear similar type of decorated and tight-fitting dresses while enacting their dramas or some other entertainments.

The ornaments of the waist are very common both in early Indian art and literature. The Suṇga, Sātavāhana and Kushan schools of art depict them copiously. In literature they are variously known–as the *rasanā sāraṣanā, mekhàlā, kāñchī, saptakī* and were fashioned in the same way as necklaces and wristlets (*Arthaśāstra*, p, 84.). Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures are rich in the depiction of the *mekhalas*, and their analogous parallels like *kaṭi-sūṭra, śṛnkhalā*, etc. The *mekhalā* or *maṇi-mekhalā* is composed of innumerable strands of gems and is often called *mekhalākalāpa*.[363] Hala, in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*,[364] speaks of the dark beads in connection with the composition of the jewelled *mekhalā*. Perhaps Hala had sapphires in his mind. A whole epic in Tamil literature is based on the anklet—*Sīlappadigāram*, and on the girdle of gems–*Maṇi-mekhalāi*. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata,[365] while enumerating the waist-ornaments, refers to the *kāñchī* (a girdle of one string), the *mekhalā* (of eight), the *rasanā* (of sixteen) and the *kalāpa* (of twenty-five strings). Later, Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Bāṇa, Māgha and others speak of girdles at several places in different contexts.[366] Again, Amara[367] mentions of the *Śṛnkhalā* (a chain) as a waist garment.

LEG-ORNAMENTS

The variety of leg ornaments represented in the reliefs is limited. One can see the monotonous repetition of the same restricted types throughout the whole series of female figures. It appears, as is evident from the sculptures the women considered it to be their exclusive right to wear them. This ornament seems to be decorative and less connected with clothing than the necklace and girdle. As in the case of the necklaces, some ornaments are considered necessary for married women. There is a custom prevalent among the lambadis of present day Āndhra

363 *Śiśupālavadha*, ix, 45.

364 *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, vi, 74; According to Dr. V. V. Mirashi only the core of the poem Gāthāsaptaśatī is old, but its additions go upto the 6th cent. A.D.

365 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 31-32, Trans. by Manmohan Ghosh (Calcutta, 1950), p. 416.

366 Kālidāsa, *Rt.* XIII, 42; X, 8; XIX, 40 and 45; K. 1, 38. VIII, 81; *Rt.* 1, 6; VI 24 etc.; Śūdraka, *Mrchch*, Act. 1 p. 19; Bāṇa : *Kādambarī*, p. 8; Māgha, *Śiśupālavadha*, IX. 45; See also G.S. Ghurye, *Indian Costumes* (Bombay, 1951), pp. 274-277.

367 *Amarakośa*, ii.

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Pradesh, that anklets of ivory, or bone, or horn should be worn by only married women and these are taken off on the death of a husband. But this practice did not seen to have been vogue during the Ikshvāku period as is seen from the sculptures where no women appears without an anklet. In the reliefs the leg ornaments can be seen worn by queens, female attendants, *chaurī*-bearers, basket-carriers, harp players besides female amorous couples and the *apsarasas* etc. There is no disparity in leg ornaments worn by the aristocracy and the commonalty; but it is possible that the difference was in the material. It is quite probable that while the wealthy class wore gold and silver anklets the lower class could only afford anklets made out of baser metals, shell, ivory or even terracotta—as is known from the discovery of such terracotta ornaments in the recent excavations. Anklets could have been either solid or hollow : but it is noteworthy that the Lambadis of the region, even to this day, wear such (as depicted) big-sized anklets that are either solid or hollow.[368] This would explain in the case of the females, the trend towards heavy ornamentation seen in the sculptures.

The sculptures offer four varieties in leg ornaments, namely, (a) the anklets with a beaded pattern, (b) the Chain anklet, (c) the anklets with small bells attached and (d) the plain rings.

(a) *Anklet (nūpura) with a beaded pattern*

This is a very simple type of an anklet and occurs in the reliefs frequently. As it would appear, it was of a hollow tube of some metal wrought with beaded pattern and bent to a circular shape. This tube was probably filled with shot to produce sound when the person wearing it danced or moved about. Such anklets that produced sound, are referred to copiously as *nūpuras*—whether gem-set (*maṇinūpura*) or plain—in Sanskṛit dramas like *Mṛcchakaṭika*,[369] *Raghuvaṁśa*[370] and *Kādambarī*[371] etc. In our reliefs they appear with the beaded pattern—adorning the legs of the amorous ladies, female attendants *apsarasas*, ladies in *dohada* and in stray examples, of the dwarfs. The number of anklets worn on each leg ranged from one to three: although the frequency of their depiction is more in favour of pairs.

The panels[372] illustrating 'the subjugation of the elephant Nalagirī', 'the nativity and seven steps, and an unidentified sculpture, (PL. XIV) reveal amorous ladies wearing a single *nūpura* with a beaded pattern (*Fig. VII, 17.*) But as evidenced in the sculptures wearing of two anklets (*nūpuras*) at a time, in each leg, seemed to be a popular practice. Several amorous ladies, female attendants and *apsarasas* are shown in the sculptures[373] wearing a pair of beaded *anklets* around each leg (*Fig. VII, 18*),

368 Thurston, *op. cit.*, vol. IV. p. 211.

369 *Mṛichchakaṭika*, Act 1, 34.

370 *Raghuvaṁsam*, XVI, 12.

371 *Kādambarī*, p. 3.

372 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII-b, XXVIII-b and XXXIII-c.

373 *Ibid.* pls. XXIX-b, XXIX-a, XXVIII-b and XXXIII-c.

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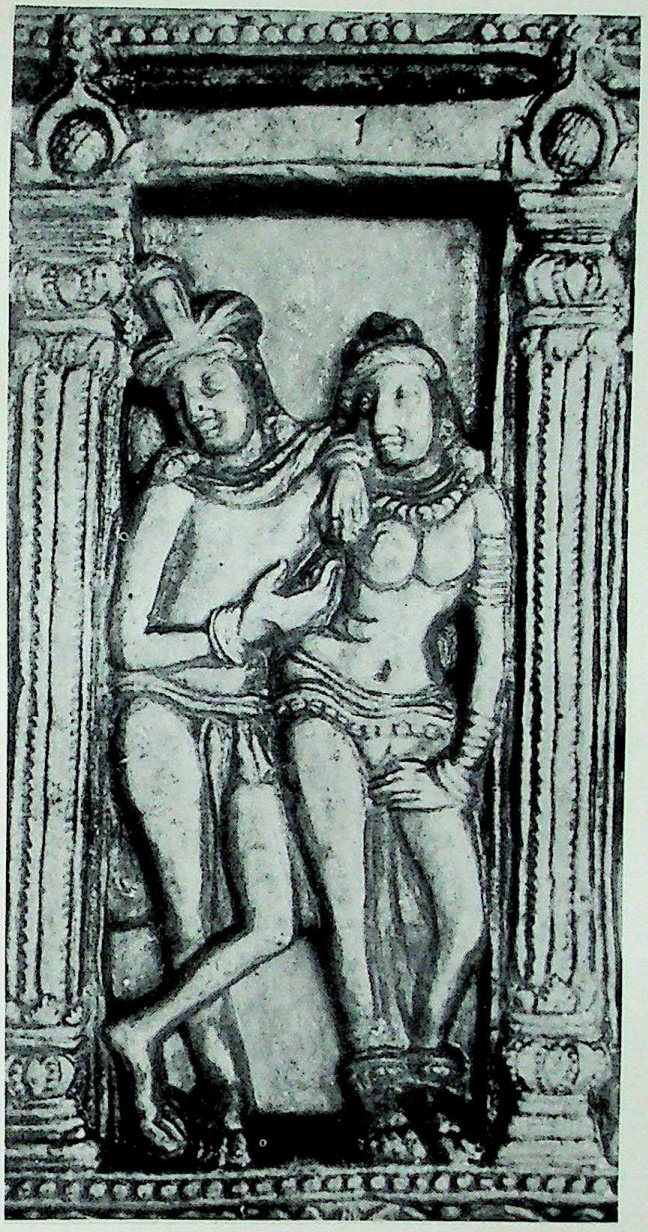

Plate XIV Mithuna Couple

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In a solitary example we see two dwarfs on an *āyaka* cornice stone,[374] revealing two *nūpuras* (with beaded pattern) on each of their legs. Nowhere else in the sculptures, except for this example, males are shown wearing *nūpuras* with a beaded pattern.

(*b*) *The Chain anklet* : (*Śṛinkhalā*)

An another variety of anklets—chain—can be seen in the case of an amorous lady illustrated in an unidentified panel[375] (*Fig. VII, 19*). She is shown wearing three big anklets on each anklet; the entire thing perhaps represents a *Śṛinkhalā* or a chain. They appear to be very heavy and each of them has a different pattern. Thus, the one nearest the ankle (or the lowest) appears like a twisted rope while the middle one looks like a braid of hair. The top one was perhaps made by linking together small circular rings.

(c) *Anklets with small bells attached : (kiṅkiṇis)*

We see a different type of anklet on some of the ladies depicted in the reliefs. It consists of a large ring (or *valaya*) skirted with ovoidal pendants. This may represent the *kiṇkiṇī* or the jingling anklet which consists of "a chain-band fringed with little bells, round the feet, or small metal shells filled with shots, which made a jingling sound when in motion."[376]

This type of anklets also seem to have been popularly favoured as is evident from their frequent depictions in the reliefs. They appear, in the reliefs,[377] adorning the ankles of queens, amorous ladies and female attendants (*Fig. VII, 20*).

(d) *Plain rings* : (*valayas or kanaka valayas*)

The simplest type of an anklet that the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs offer to view is a plain ring or a *valaya* : they were perhaps bent round hollow tubes as seen in the case of *nūpuras* with the beaded pattern, but in this case there is no design over them. The tube was probably filled with small stone chips which enabled the ornament to produce a melodious sound when the person wearing it moved about. This could be a *mañjīra* as identified by Sivaramamurti in the Amaravati sculptures.[378]

The depiction of these anklets in the reliefs is considerably less in number when compared to that of the *kiṇkiṇis*. But one noteworthy feature of this type is that it appears on the legs of children and dwarfs : except for this variety anklets are a monopoly of the females. Thus, we find female attendants, amorous ladies, and the ladies in *dohada* wearing the plain rings. The number of rings worn, on each legs, is either one or two.

374 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXVII-c.

375 *Ibid.*, XLI-a

376 Rajendra Lal Mitra, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 236.

377 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXII-a and XXVIII-b.

378 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 114. *Mañjīra* is the word for a churning stick with its string coiled. The *mañjīra* anklet is so called since it resembles the churning stick with coiled string. The *mañjīra* makes a beautiful sound : *mañju iran mañjīrah;* cf. pl. VIII. fig. 17,

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The best example of two *valayas* worn on each leg can be seen in the case of the lady in *dohada*.[379] In a panel[380] depicting 'the gift of earth,' the two children—Jaya and Vijaya—are shown wearing two plain rings. Even at present it is the practice for children, especially boys, to wear a single *valaya*(or *kaḍiyam* as in Telugu, or *Kaḍaga* as in Karnarese) in some parts of Andhra Pradesh and Mysore States in India.

A different type of leg ornament is seen on a female attendant sculptured in an inscribed slab.[381] She is shown wearing a multi-coiled ring over her ankle (*Fig. VII, 21*). A replica of this can be seen in the Amaravati sculptures, and Sivaramamurti[382] identifies it as a multi-coiled *mañjīra*. Its importance lies in the fact that at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā it is carved on an inscribed frieze slab which records the 24th regnal year of Ehuvula Cāntamūla. This attests to its usage as one of the leg ornaments in vogue in Ehuvula Cāntamūla's time.

The Ikshvāku people had a great taste for wearing these leg ornaments in varying combinations—of the described varieties—this is attested in the reliefs. Four such combinations, namely, (a-i) *Nūpura* with beaded pattern and net-band (b-i) *kinkiṇī* and *valaya* (b-ii) *kinkiṇī* and net-band and (d-i) *valaya* and net-band, can be, made out from the reliefs.

(a-i) *The Nūpura of beaded pattern in combination with a net band*

In the sculptures some of the depicted ladies in *dohada* reveal a combination of leg ornaments that includes the *nūpura* with beaded pattern and a band with a criss-cross or net pattern[383] (*Fig. VII, 22*).

An excellant example of this combination comes from the sculpture[384] revealing perhaps 'the sleeping women': the sculpture is presently housed at Musée Guimet, Paris. In this sculpture three voluptuous women, shown sitting, wear this combination. The same panel reveals another standing woman wearing a *nūpura* of beaded pattern with three *valayas*; although the *valayas* in presence of the *nūpura* appear superfluous. Thus, there is a slight deviation here from the usually represented combination of the leg ornaments in the reliefs. Since it is the only representation of its kind this combination cannot be taken as a common feature in the reliefs.

(b-i) *The Kiṇkiṇī and valaya combination*

This combination of the leg ornaments receives frequent depiction in the sculptures; it testifies to its popularity. The reliefs depict the *kiṇkiṇī* being worn in

379 See Krishnamurthy, "Lady in *dohada* from the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā", for the meaning of the lady performing *dohada* and pl. 6-c in *Journal of Indian Museums*, vol, XVII-XX 1961-64, pp. 38.40.

380 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-b.

381 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-a.

382 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, 19.

383 See *Journal of Indian Musem*, vol. XVII-XX (1961-64), pl. 6b.

384 *Rūpam*, Journal of Oriental Art, No. 38-39, April-July, 1929; fig.2 facing 70; also see Hackin, J., *Sculptures Bouddhique* a *Guimet cahiers d' Arts*, 1927, Nos. 4 and 5.

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association with two to four *valayas*. One unidentified panel[385] illustrates the *kiṇkiṇī* in combination with two *valayas* in the case of an amorous lady. A queen, depicted in another unidentified sculpture[386] presents the combination of a *kiṇkiṇī* and three *valayas*. In the same panel two *chaurī*-bearers also wear similar leg ornaments but with four valayas (Pl. XIX). Evidently this combination of the leg ornament was popularly favoured and the female attendant class, in particular, adopted them more frequently.

(b-ii) *The Kiṇkiṇī and net band combination*

Equally favourite combination again comprises a combination of the *kiṇkiṇī* with net bands (or band with criss-cross pattern). It is the amorous ladies that presents this combination more frequently[387] in the sculptures.

(d-i) *The Valaya and net band combination*

This combination of the leg ornaments seemed to have been less in vogue as is evident from its meagre representation in the reliefs. Two amorous ladies depicted in the panels[388] revealing 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow' and an inscribed frieze slab[389] present this combination of the leg ornaments (*Fig. VII, 23*).

That the people of the Ikshvāku period had a high sense of aesthetic value is again apparent from the leg ornament worn by an amorous lady.[390] Her leg ornamentation consists of three varieties namely, a *nūpura* (with beaded pattern), a *valaya* and a net band (Pl. XXXV).

Leg ornaments are common in early Indian art and literature. In Bharhut sculptures the anklets are shown either of spiral coils or of consecutive rings of gold pieces—one over the other, the upper and the lower being ornamented. The Gāndhāra sculptures show women wearing heavy anklets.[391] In Sanskrit literature the references to the leg ornaments are many: they are variously known as *mañjīra, tulākoṭi, nūpura, padāṅgada* and *haṁsaka.*

Vālmīki, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[392], speaks of only one variety of anklet : *mañjīrā* or *maṇi-nūpura.* He describes Sītā's anklet as jingling and massive–(*svanavanti mahānti ca*).[393] Bharata in his *Nāṭyasāstra,*[394] considers the *nūpura*, the *kiṇkiṇī*, the string of bells (*ghaṇṭikājāla*) and the ringing *kaṭaka* (hollow bangles within which small chips are put) as ornaments of the ankle. All the three varieties mentioned by him find

385 Longhurst,*op. cit.*, pl. XXXII-b.

386 *Ibid.*, XXVI-c.

387 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII-b, XLI-b and XXXIII-c.

388 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-b; *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

389 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-a.

390 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. LI, figs. 4, 5 and 6.

391 Marshall, *Gāndhāra*, p. 35.

392 *Rāmāyṇa, op. cit.*, IV 33. 25.

393 *Ibid*, V. 15. 46.

394 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 34 Translated by M. M. Ghosh, Calcutta (1950), vol. p. 417.

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place in our sculptures. The Buddhist texts *Lalitavistara*[395] and the *Saundarānanda-kāvya*[396] of Aśvagosha refer to the anklet *nūpura* at several places. The whole tragic story *Chilappathikāram* of the Sangam literature centres around an anklet. Tamil literature informs us that men of royal descent and petty chiefs wore the anklet on their legs as a mark of distinction.[397] Kālidāsa, Śūdraka, Rāṇa and others refer copiously to the anklets (*nūpuras*) in their works.[398]

ORNAMENTS : THEIR TECHNIQUE OF MANUFACTURE

Although the technique of manufacture of the jewellery cannot be known directly from the sculptures, yet, one can visualize the process of ornament-making during the Ikshvāku period from the various designs of the ornaments and the way in which they were worn.[399] This visualization gets corroboration from the *svarṇakāraś* (goldsmith's) workshop unearthed in the recent excavations.[400] The moulds discovered from the workshop, as well as different methods of decoration on the ornaments, help us to have more or less a complete picture of the different techniques of manufacture practised in the Kṛishṇā valley.

The technical processes involved in the ornament making in India have, however, remained basically unchanged even to this day. The source of heat for a goldsmith's workshop is an open hearth. The blow-pipe or bellows are used to increase the heat. The principal tools used in the ornament making are an anvil of metal or stone; hammers for beating sheet-metals; punches of different shapes and sizes, stamps and cores, moulds for casting, matrixes for shaping, chisels, engraving-tools, tongs, files, crucibles of clay etc. The ancient ornaments were made from basic 'elements' like sheet metal, or wire, and by casting. The sheet metal was obtained by putting an ingot on an anvil and hammering it. The ancient mechanical processes generally employed on the sheet metal were (a) stamping, (b) beating over a core and (c) beating into a mould.

As for the first two processes (a and b), it is difficult to visualize the technique of manufacture from the ornaments depicted in the sculptures. But one can see the third process namely *beating into a mould*' indicated in the ornaments depicted in the reliefs. Some of the necklaces, waist-ornaments, and ornamented *langoṭis* portrayed in the sculptures reveal rows of beads or pearls or gems of various shapes like spherical, ovoidal, oblong or globular. Although their materials cannot be known from the

395 *Lalitavistara*, IX, p. 121. Ed. by Rajendralal Mithra, Calcutta, 1877. Translated by the same. Ed. by G S. Lefman Halle 1902-8. In Jātakas, the foot-bangle '*pālipādakam*' is mentioned;J. VI. 590-G 2447.

396 *Saundārānanda Kāvya*, IV. 26, Ed. by H.P. Sastry, Calcutta 1910. Ed. by E.H. Johnstone, Lahore 1928; Translated by the same.

397 *Kalith-thokai*, p. 85, See Kanakasabhai, *Tamils 1800 years ago*, Chap. IX, p. 119.

398 *Raghuvaṁśam*, XVI. 12, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Act. i, 34. *Kādambarī*, p. 3.

399 Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* refers to three kinds of ornamental works, namely *kshepaṇaguṇa* and *kshudra*; R. Shamasastry, *Arthaśāstra*, p. 92-93; Bharata in *Nāṭyaśāstra* (p. 411) mentions four kinds of ornaments, viz. *avedhya bandhanīya, prakṣepya* and *āropya*.

400 *IAR* 1959-60, p. 9; pls. V-B and VI.

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sculptures one can have some idea of it from the precious and semi-precious stone beads discovered in the excavations. It is reported that beads of gold (some have come from the reliquaries), pearl, coral, crystal, jasper and carnelian etc.. have been found in the excavations.[401] It is quite probable that some of these might have been used for adorning the necklaces and waist-ornaments of the people of the Ikshvāku period.

In the case of the manufacture of such gold beads of globular shapes the technique employed was probably 'beating into a mould.' This was done by hammering a sheet of metal into a mould.[402] A hemisphere was made by driving a piece of sheet metal into the cavity with a round-faced hammer or punch. It was pierced through the centre and was soldered to another similar hemisphere. Thus the simplest kind of mould consisted of a plain circular concavity for making globular beads. But their moulds were generally more elaborate and were capable of reproducing complex patterns and shapes. It is quite probable that the gold beads, of gloubular or spherical shape, recovered from the reliquaries and melon-beads recovered from the Ikshvāku levels in the excavations were made by this technique.

But when the beads were of stone—carnelian, jasper, agate, pearl etc., the process of their manufacture was different from the above. Speaking about the technique of manufacture of ancient beads at Ujjain Banerjee[403] remarks that "The process of manufacture followed at Cambay today is borne out by the archaeological evidence at Ujjain, to be a continuity, barring improvements which passage of time and attendant advance in technology have cantributed, of the early industry." Therefore, the process of bead manufacture adopted at Cambay would be a guiding factor in knowing the technique of ancient bead manufacture.[404]

The method in vogue today compares well with the methods adopted by the ancient bead-makers. The way in which some of the beads are threaded to a string, adorning the necklaces depicted in the sculptures, would suggest that bores in the beads were made either vertically or horizontally. When the bores were at the top the beads were probably hung by means of hooks to a string tied round the neck. The beads which were perforated along horizontal axis were meant to be woven in a string.

401 See A. H. Longhurst, "The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Madras Presidency", *Mem. Arch. Survey of India*, No. 54; T. N. Ramachandran, "Nāgārjunakondā, 1938" *Mem. Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 71; *IAR* 1954-60; The excavations were done under Dr. R. Subrahmanyam assisted by others including the present author.

402 See for technique, Alexander, C., *The art of the Goldsmith in Classical Times* (Newyork, 1928); *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLV (1941), 375-83; see also, A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London, 1934), p. 188-189.

403 Banerjee, N.R , 'The Technique of the Manufacture of the Stone Beads in ancient Ujjain,' *JAS*, vol. 1, No. 2, 1959; p. 194.

404 See for details of the bead industry at Camday the article on 'Cambay and the bead trade' by A. J. Arkell, in *Antiquity*, vol. X, No. 39, Sept. 1937, p. 292ff.

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Some of the spiral-like armlets[405] or anklets[406] portrayed in the sculptures were probably manufactured out of sheet metal. The sheet metal was possibly flattened to a required breadth with a hammer and then coiled round in spirals. Some of the broad bangles[407] of metal or ivory or shell found on the wrists of the figures depicted in the sculptures again would reveal the technique employed in their manufacture. In the case of metal bangles the technique was probably the same as found in the case of spiral armlets. A bangle of sheet metal was probably flattened and bent to a circular shape : In this case, the sheet metal was hammered to a broader breadth. If the bangles were of ivory or shell, the evidence that could be obtained from the excavations about their making, shows a quite different technique. As seen in the case of bead making the technique of manufacture of ivory and shell bangles did not basically differ from the modern techniques adopted in the similar bangle industries of Bengal and Assam.[408]

(i) *Wire drawing*

Some of the figures depicted in the sculptures are shown with spiral ear-ornaments, exact replica of these was found, in gold, in the excavations.[409] These spiral ear-ornaments were probably made of wire : the wire was made from thin strips of sheet metal. These strips of sheet metal were hammered and rolled between plates of stone or bronze until they were rounded. The thickness of wire was reduced by 'stretching.' The other method adopted in wire-making could have been by way of introduction of a draw-plate. In this method, a strip of metal is drawn successively through holes in a metal plate until the required thickness is attained. The use of the draw-plate can be known by longitudinal striations and by the uniform thickness of the wire. In all probability the ear-ornaments discovered in the excavations and depicted in the sculptures were the outcome of this technique of manufacture.

Some of the female attendants depicted in the panel illustrating 'Māndhātu causing shower of gold' are shown wearing a string of cotton or of plaited cord. When the string was of gold it was probably manufactured by this draw-plate technique. If the string was of cotton the thread was possibly derived by the use of the spindle whorl. It is interesting to note that spindle whorls were obtained from the excavations.

Similarly the *channavīra*, in the *vaikakshaka* fashion, found on the body of Māra and Vajrapāṇī and as depicted in the panels illustrating Māra's assault' and 'king Apalāla subdued by the Buddha' were of plaited gold-cord (*hemavaikakshaka*).

405 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl, XXX-b;

406 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A

407 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XX-b. XXXIV-a and XXXV-a.

408 See for details of the manufacture of shell and ivory bangels — *Memoirs of Society of Bengal*, vol. III, 1960-1914, J. Hornell's article pp. 436ff.

409 *IAR*, 1959-60, pl. IV-c. It is interesting to note that these ornaments come from one of the megaliths at Nāgārjunakaṇḍā.

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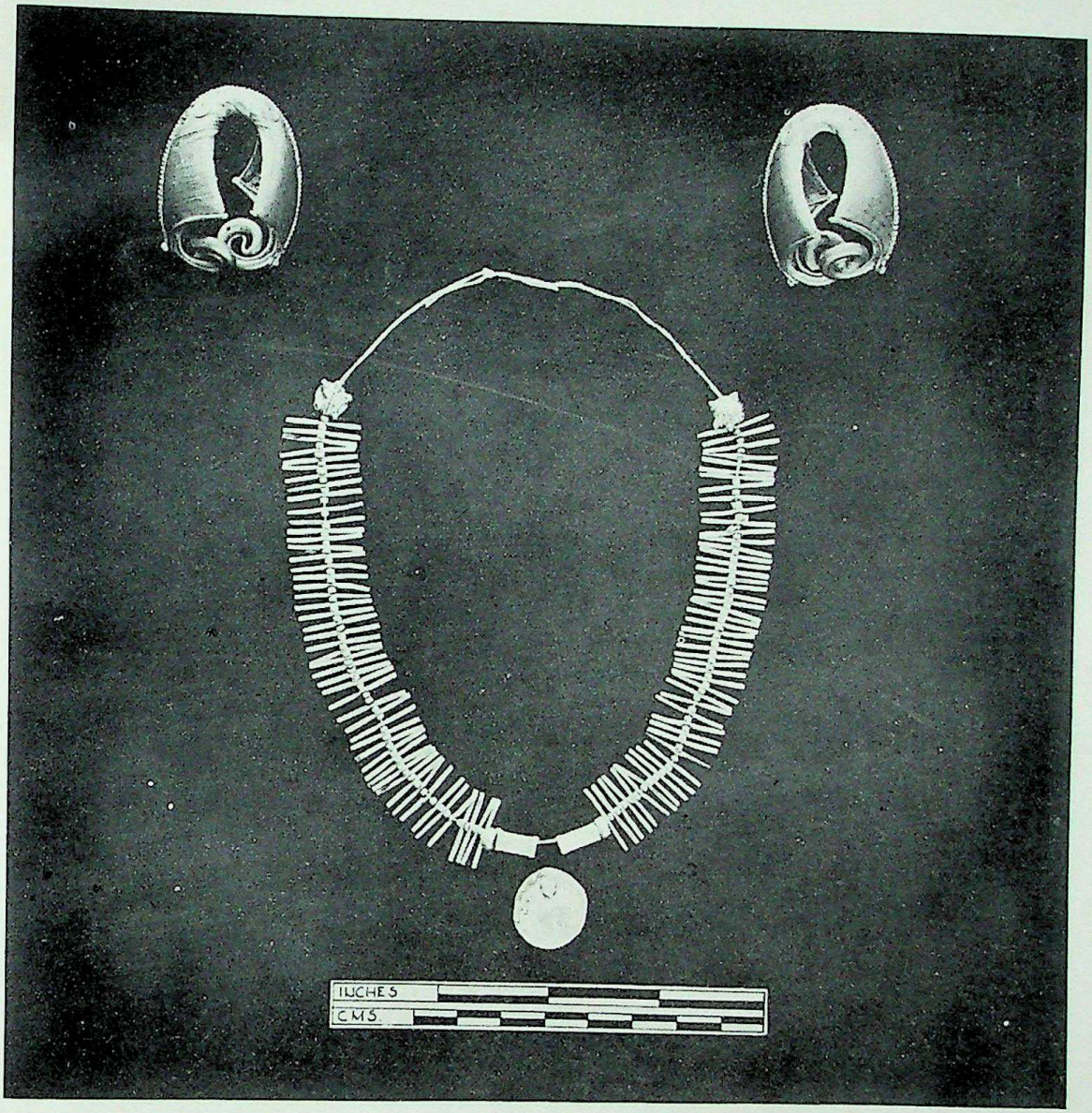

Plate XV Gold Necklace and Ear rings

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This gold cord was persumably of beaded wire. It was made by pressing wire between the dies.

In ancient jewellery the chains play a very important part. The chains revealed on the waist of some of the figures depicted in the sculptures were simple and probably composed of series of links with their ends soldered together.[410]

(ii) *Casting*

Although the sculptures do not show the moulds for casting ornaments the excavations at Nāgājunakoṇḍā have revealed terracotta crucibles, moulds, iron tong etc., from a house identified as a goldsmith's workshop.[411] The stone moulds were intended either for the production of solid or hollow (members) of ornaments.[412] When a solid piece of ornament was to be made the number of moulds was generally more than one. These moulds have channels wherefrom the molten metal was poured and semi-circular depressions. Similarly in cases of bangle manufacture impression-moulds were used. In this process a sheet of gold was pressed into the mould cavities to be finished by means of punches or by engravers. Thus we find that both solid as well as hollow moulds were in vogue at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

(iii) *Filigree and granulation work*

The developed techniques like filigree and granulation were also employed for decoration on ornaments.[413] Filigree and granulation are two closely related processes for decorating gold work by the application of wires and grains of gold.[414] In filigree work the wire may be arranged singly—in twists or in plaits. The technique of granulation is to decorate the surface with fine granules of gold or silver. It requires a high standard of technical skill. It may be described as the making of the patterns with minute grains of gold soldered to a background.[415]

The best example of a balanced combination of these two techniques is the

410 More elaborate chains known as loop-in-loop or square chain were used in the classical world about 2200 B. C. (Petrie, W.M.F.,*Arts and Crafts of ancient Egypt* (London, 1910). p. 86. Daremberg and Sciglio, Dictionnaire de Antiquities. S. V. 'Catena'. Williams, C.F. *Gold and Silver jewellery and other related objects* (New York, 1924), p. 133. *Catalogue of Egyptian Jewellery*). Such chains are reported to have been discovered in Ur excavations. (Wooley, C.L., *Ur Excavations* (London and Philadelphia, 1939), ii. pls. 146 and 159).

411 *IAR*, 1959-60, p. 9 and pls. VI and V-b.

412 Cf. moulds from Taxila-See J. Marshall, *Taxila*, II, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 506-507; Compare also British Museum moulds -- Apendix *A*, Motichandra and P. L. Gupta, "Jewellery Moulds in ancient India", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, No. 8 (1962-64); compare barleypattern, diapered circles, nandipāda, crescent etc.

413 For detailed study of these techniques see Higgins. *op. cit.*, p. 18-19, and also Marshall *op. cit.*, p. 617-618. See also Motichandra and P. L. Gupta article on Jewellery Moulds in Ancient India, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-17.

414 Higgins, *op. cit.*, p. 18

415 Singer and others., *A History of Technology*, I (oxford, 1954), p. 658.

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pair of gold ear-rings discovered in the recent excavations.[416] They are of *makara kuṇḍala* type with twisted terminals possibly for threading. The surface is minutely decorated with filigree or wire work. The granulation in the centre has the appearance of a knot line. The combination of these two evolved techniques has brought out the effect of leaf design on the arched body of the ear-ring. Another example, where both the techniques were employed is in the necklace (Pl. XV) discovered along with the above mentioned ear-rings in the excavations.[417]

Out side India filigree and granulation techniques have had a long tradition in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia-Minor. The Royal Tombs at Ur, of about 2500 B.C., testify to filigree work of high order and incipient granulation.[418] Surprisingly, these processes do not have an early adoption in Egypt where granulation is not recorded before about 1900 B.C.[419] In Greece, granulation and filigree were practised between 800 and 600 B C. From 600 to the end of 1st Cen. B.C., filigree gradually replaced the granulation. In Roman jewellery filigree and granulation are found but neither process was popular. In India such methods have been widely used on the ornaments discovered at Taxila. Marshall is of the opinion that India learnt these techniques from the Greeco-Roman world.[420]

416 *IAR*-1956-57, pl. LX-B.

417 *Ibid.*, pl. LX-B.

418 Wooley, *op. cit.*, ii, pl. 138.

419 W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), pl. 80A.

420 Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 618; see also Beck's granulated Beads in 'The Beads from Taxila,' *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 65 (Delhi 1941).

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FIVE

Coiffure and Head Dress

COIFFURES

As the majority of males and females in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs appear with covered heads they have not much to convey to us in respect of their coiffures. Nevertheless; an attempt has been made to cull as much information as possible from the available specimens so as to have a fair idea of their hair-styles. But one thing is certain of these people—that showed remarkable taste for variety and fashion as regards their head-dress—are naturally expected to have bestowed the same artistic skill and meticulous attention in the arrangement of their hair.

As the aristocratic people and the members of the commonalty seldom moved about bare-headed, they always kept their hair moderately long so as to be easily covered by the head-dress. They invariably appear in the reliefs with short and curly hair. However, it does not mean that instances of long hair are wanting. Long hair was generally seen on ascetics and mendicants. The common people, it appears, did not bestow much attention on their hair-dressing. Needless to say, that women as usual excelled men so far as the art of designing coiffures is concerned.

MALE HAIR STYLES

(i) *Kings*

The kings, it seems, were very particular in arranging their hair very neatly even though it was covered with their head-dress as is evident from some of the reliefs. As a few of their head-dresses have been depicted slipped to the side; or perhaps worn aslant; a part of their hair is seen, which discloses the modes of their hair-styles. Thus the kings Śibī, Daśaratha, the *nāga* king, king of Banaras and king Māndhātu as depicted in the panels[1] appear with their hair neatly combed so as to facilitate a neat fit, to their head-dresses. Further as their head-dresses are shown slipped aside the manner in which the kings have combed their hair can also be

1 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XLII-a, XLV-a, XL-a, XXXVIII-b, XLIII-b.

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known. In yet another panel,[2] illustrating the Māndhātu jātaka the King Māndhātu has arranged his hair in a different manner. He is represented as having short and curly hair which give the appearance of a wig. Sometimes, kings are seen with long hair which terminated in upward twisted curls The hair-style of this type can be best seen in the case of the *Cakravartin* depicted in the panel[3] illustrating 'the *Cakravartin* and seven jewsls': he is shown with long hair, allowed to hang down, on either side upto his shoulders and these end in upward twisted curls.

(ii) *Gods*[4]

The gods in the reliefs appear precisely with a similar kind of a coiffure. In the case of the gods also the as lant head-dresses have made it possible to know their hair-styles: they appear in the sculptures[5] with neatly combed hair. The coiffure of the god represented in the panel[6] illustrating 'the Buddha and the *devas*' reveals a hair-style of long hair terminating in upward twisted curls. The whole thing gives the appearance of a wig as noted earlier. The early sculptures of Amarāvatī[7] offer many examples of this kind of hair-style; its continuation can be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. However, it is profusely depicted only in the Gandhāra art.[8]

A different type of coiffure on god, is to be seen represented in the panel illustrating 'transportation of Gautama's head-dress'[9] and 'the first sermon in the deer park.'[10] They have their hair dressed in a fan-shaped projection on top of their heads. This projection, sometimes, is also seen in the middle of a head, as depicted in the case of the god represented in the panel illustrating 'transportation of Gautama's head-dress' (Pl. XVI). At times, it is shown on the right side of the head, as found in case of the god represented in the panel depicting 'the first sermon in the deer park'.

This hair-style is very charming resembling a peacock's plumes and is found more frequently in the case of females than the males. It appears to be fairly common in sculptures of the early period, and excellent examples of this are available at Sanchi,[11] Amaravati[12] and Mathura.[13] However, it is not so common at

2 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-b.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-a.

4 *Gods* are discussed after *kings* in the similar order followed in the *Chapter three* entitled costumes.

5 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-d; XX-a; XXII-a; XXIII-a; XXVIII-b.

6 *Ibid.*, pl. XIV-C.

7 Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-I.

8 Herald Ingholt, *Ghandharan Art in Pakistan* (Newyork, 1957), figs. V-3, 3, 26, 54, 93; John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Ghandhara* (Combridge, 1960), fig. 66.

9 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII-a.

10 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-b.

11 cf. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XLVII and XLVIII.

12 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

13 B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas* (Bombay, 1965), illustration of an inscribed slab.

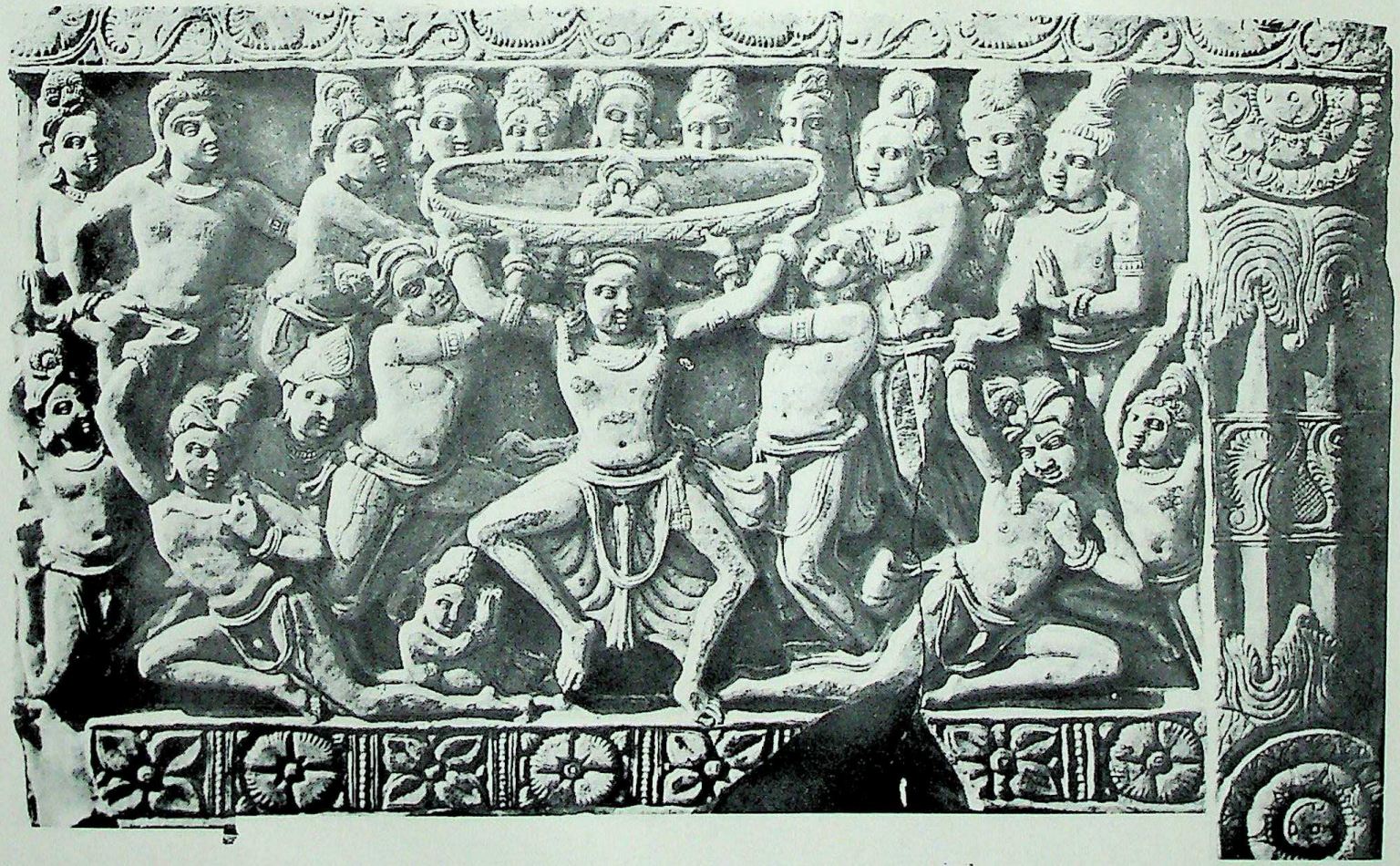

Plate XVI Transportation of Gautama s head-dress

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Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. But again it becomes extremely popular in the Gupta period; its finest illustrations are to be seen in the terracottas of Rajghat.[14]

This hair-style has been referred as *barha-bhāra-keśa* by Kālidāsa in his *kāvyas:* he speaks of the mass of hair arranged in imitation of a peacock's feathers *(barhi-barhā-valim viḍambayatā keśakalāpenā).*[15]

(iii) *Princes*

The bas-reliefs invariably represent princes with the hair dressed into an egg-shaped ball.[16] This type of a coiffure can be identified as the *Śikhaṇḍa* type. Comparable examples of *Śikhaṇḍa* occur at Amaravati[17] and in the Gandhāra art.[18] This coiffure is usually depicted in the children.

The princes, at times, also had short hair as can be known from the panel[19] illustrating 'the admission of the six Śākya princes and the barber Upālī to the order.' The three Śākya princes reveal a coiffure comprising of short curly hair which gives an appearance of a wig (Pl. V).

(iv) *Dwarfs*

Dwarfs (or Genii) appear in the reliefs[20] mostly with extremely curly hair (*Fig. VIII, 1*). The wig-like treatment of the hair appears to have been very much favoured by the dwarfs. But two of the dwarfs that occur on the inscribed slab have short bushy hair.

It is noteworthy that the curly hair are rare or almost absent in the early sculptures. They make their appearance in the 2nd-3rd Cen. A.D. The Buddhas are depicted with such curly hair at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and in the sculptures of Mathura. The depiction of curly hair becomes extremely profuse during the Vākāṭaka Gupta period. The wig-like treatment of the hair could be the introduction of the foreigners into India in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is well known that this hair style, 'wig-like hair', was a common coiffure in the Hellenistic and the Roman world. In view of the trade contacts that India had with the Mediterranean countries, just before the Christian era, it is quite probable that the wig-like Coiffure was brought by the Greeco-Romans into India. Particularly, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, it may have been introduced through Roman or Scythian contact.

At times, dwarfs[21] adopted the *śikhaṇḍa* type of a coiffure by gathering their hair into an egg-shaped ball on the top of their heads.

14 Agrawala, V.S., 'Rajghat terracottas' *JUPHS*, XIV, pl. 1, fig. 1. 6.4. Also compare V.S. Agrawal *Gupta Art*, pl. 1.

15 Agrawala, V.S., Art Evidence in Kālidāsa' *JUPHS*, vol. XXII, 1949, p. 89.

16 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-b; XLV-b.

17 Burgess *op. cit.*, pl. XV. 3; XVI. 1.

18 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pl. V. 2; John Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 26, 124.

19 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-b.

20 *Ibid.*, pls. XXII-b; XXIX-b, XLI-b; XLIX-c; *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

21 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-b.

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(v) *Common people*

The commonalty always endeavoured, as seen in the sculptures, to imitate the fashions of the higher society; but probably, they were not economically enough well off to equal the rich class. An idea of the coiffures adopted by the commoners can be known from the depictions of the astrologers, musicians, male attendants, soldiers, standard bearers etc., in the reliefs.

Thus, the astrologer, depicted in the panel[22] illustrating 'casting of the horoscope' is shown bald on the crown but has short curly hair on the sides. The minstrel Pañchasikha depicted in the panel[23] illustrating 'the Buddha visited by Indra' shown having his hair short and combed backwards. In Caṁpeyya Jātaka the snake charmer appears with a wig-like coiffure.[24] But interestingly, the male attendant illustrated in the panel[25] revealing 'the gift of earth' offers a new type of hair-style: he is shown with his curlish hair combed and brought forward over the forehead (*Fig. VIII, 2*). This type of hair-dressing is indeed very interesting and appears to be foreign. It imitates the known hairstyle of the noblemen in the imperial Roman courts, as is evident from their statues.[26] Still earlier, the Greeks also used to comb their hair in a similar fashion,[27] and therefore, it is quite probable that the Greeks were responsible for introduction of such a hair-style into India. However, it did not find favour with the Indians as the early Indian art shows. The antelope-rider, noticed at Sanchi, with this coiffure also appears to be a foreigner probably a Greek or a Roman. But later, we find this coiffure becomes a characteristic feature of the Gandhāra art.[28]

The male attendants, depicted in the panels[29] illustrating the Śibi-jātaka and the Daśaratha-jātaka, have wig-like coiffure. Another instance, of the wig-like treatment of hair-dressing, comes from the latter panel[30]: a standard bearer appears with this type of a coiffure.

However, this wig-like treatment of the hair appeared to have been mostly favoured by the commoners. This coiffure was so popular that even some of the soldiers, depicted in the reliefs, are found having this hair-style. In the panel[31] illustrating the Dighītikosala Jātaka, as many as five soldiers appear with the wig-type coiffure and a similar hairdo is seen in the case of Dighavu, son of the king Dighīti, depicted in the same panel. What interests us is that even the brahmins, in some instances,

22 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a.

23 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV-a.

24 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

25 *Ibid.*, XXV-b.

26 Paul Gustaf Hamberg, *Studies in Raman Imperial Art* (Upasala, 1945), pl. 22.

27 Margarete Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1961), figs. 190, 192, 194 and 196-197.

28 Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 32.

29 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls; XLII-a and XLV-a.

30 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a

31 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-a

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are depicted with this type of a coiffure.[32] That the village-men arranged their hair into an egg-shaped ball over their head, *śikhaṇḍa* fashion, can be known from the panel[33] illustrating a village scene.

(vi) *Boys*

It is again the boys that appear frequently, in the reliefs, with a *Śikhaṇḍa* type of coiffure. The figure carved on an ornate pillar[34] depicts three egg-shaped knots (or balls) over a head. Again, the children illustrated in the panel[35] revealing 'the gift of earth' have their hair dressed into an egg-shaped ball (*Śikhaṇḍa*). Thus, this *śikhaṇḍa* type of a coiffure appears to have been mostly associated with children.

(vii) *Ascetics*

Generally, ascetics of both the sexes are seen in the reliefs, with their matted locks (*Jaṭā*) rolled up and secured in an egg-shaped ball. This coiffure is thus the combined mode of the *Jaṭābhāra* and the *śikhaṇḍa* styles. Thus the ascetic revealed in the panel[36] illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park' has arranged his matted hair in a ball to the right side (*Fig. VIII, 3*). Again, as many as five ascetics occur in one panel[37] having the combined coiffure of the *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes. Thus, one has gathered the matted hair in a large ball above the ear, the end being taken through and left dangling over the ear : another, sitting near him, has gathered the braided hair into a crescent shaped ball on the crown. The sage depicted in the panel[38] illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka has arranged his matted hair (twisted) in receding tiers on the top of the head. However, the best example of the combined mode of using *jaṭābhāra-sikhaṇḍa* hair-style is seen on the sage represented in the panel[39] illustrating 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana' (Pl. XVII). But, in the same panel, the sage Asita appears with his hair dangling behind the head and on the shoulders.

Comparable examples, of *jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined in one, occur throughout Indian art. This is probably because of the fact that religion was the guiding factor for the sculptors—whether he worked at Bharhut or Sanchi, Amaravati, Goli, Mathura, or in Gāndhāra. As a result of this artists yard-stick the depiction—of the sage with matted locks or of the monk with a shaven head—was uniform and has remained an inevitable appendage in the sculptures. At Bharhut,[40]

32 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-b.

33 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, XXX-A.

34 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-c.

35 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-b.

36 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV-a.

37 *Ibid.*, XXXIX-b.

38 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

39 *Ibid* pl., XX-a

40 Barua, *op.* cit., III-XIII. 118; XIII. 114; XIV. 10; XX. 16; XXX. 25; LXXV. 98a; LXXVIII-106; LXXVIII-104; LXXXI-115; LXXXVIII-131;X c-134; Xc 1-138.

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Amaravati[41] and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the depiction of this coiffure (*jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined) is profuse. It becomes extremely common in Gandhara art.[42]

(viii) *Buddhist Monks*

The Buddhist monks are generally seen in the reliefs with clean shaven heads.

(ix) *The Buddha*

The Buddha has his hair represented in two ways in the reliefs. In one sculpture,[43] he is shown with a single sinistral curl or a line above the forehead. But in a majority of cases,[44] the Buddha appears with a protuberance on his head and having small curls all over it. This hair-style of the Buddha can also be seen in the sculptures of Amaravati.[45] At Mathura,[46] he is represented with a single sinistral curl or a line above the forehead : and also with a protuberance on his skull having curly hair all over the head. In the Gandhāra sculptures,[47] wavy knots of hair are clearly seen : the flame above this can be seen more in the south India than in the north and is a feature added in the later medieval sculptures.[48]

FEMALE HAIR-STYLES

As the women also mostly appear with head dresses in the reliefs, little scope is left for the study of their coiffures. However, the available instances are sufficient to realise the skill exercised by the women of Nāgājunakoṇḍā in arranging their hair in various modes or fashions. The bas-reliefs reveal various patterns of coiffures the typological study of which is as follows.

(i) *Hair combed backwards and secured in a roundish bun or ball with a knot close to the head*

This fashion of hairdo is mostly seen on the depicted *cāmaradhāriṇis* or female attendants and occasionally on the amorous ladies in the reliefs. Thus, some of the cāmaradhāriṇis in the sculpture[49] combed back their hair and arranged them (*Fig. VIII, 4, 4a*) in a ball shape with a knot close to the nape. They have secured the

41 Burgess, *op. cit.*, XV. 3; XVI. 5; XXXII. 1 etc.

42 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, V. 2; fig. 5, 10, 20, 25, 31, 54, 70, 72, 82 to 84, 86, 135, 153, 183; cf. Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 6, 10-a, 54, 66, 92, 106, 113.

43 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. VI-d.

44 *Ibid.*, pls. XIV-c; XXII-b, XXIII-a, XXXIV-a, b, XXXV-a, XXXVII-b, XLIV-a, b; XLVII-b, XLVIII-b.

45 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. LXII-1-c; LXII-2; LXIII-1-b; LXIII-2, 3; LXIII-4-a; LXIV-2, LXIV-2-c.

46 Sivaramamurti, *AI*, No. 6, fig. 4, a. 4b.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 24, fig. 4, c.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

49 Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XXX-A.

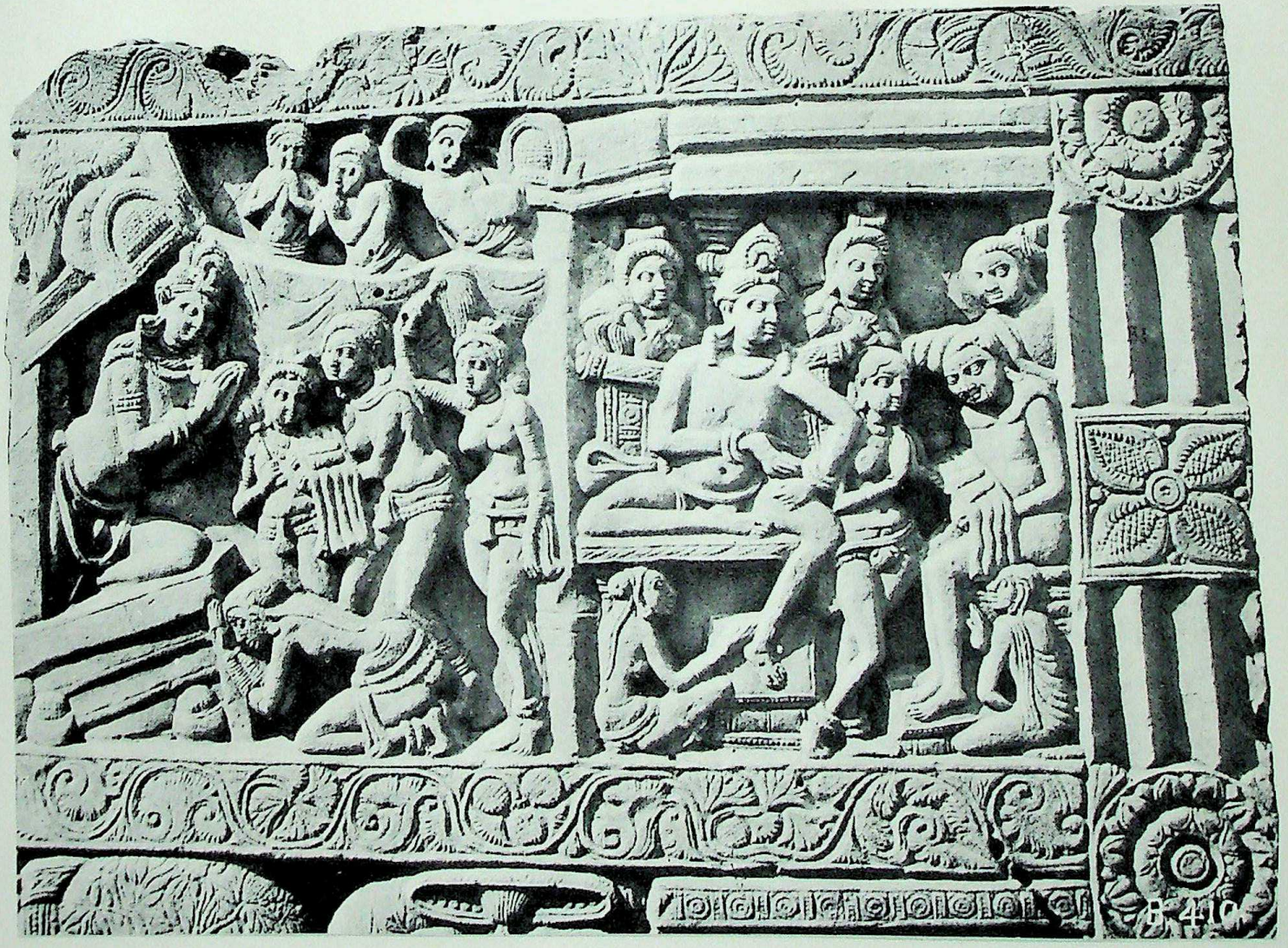

Plate XVII Asita's visit to Śuddhodhana and presentation of the child

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bunch with a fillet. At times they are seen with their hair parted in the middle and secured in a bunch either on the left or the right side of the head. Some times female attendants[50] are seen to have arranged their hair in an elongated bunch, raised over their head, instead of the short bunch near the occiput as seen hitherto. The hair is further secured by a fillet.

The female attendant depicted on an inscribed pillar[51] wears this coiffure in a still different manner. She has combed back her hair and secured it in a roundish bun. The *sīmanta* (hair-parting) in this case is absent (*Fig. VIII, 5, 5a*), The two other female attendants depicted in the panels illustrating 'offering of food to the Buddha after enlightenment' and in two *Chaitya* slabs have their hair parted in the middle and secured at the back in a roundish bun.

The coiffure of the woman depicted on a gold medallion,[52] however, shows the hair-style adopted by a foreigner. The hair in her case is parted in the middle and secured into a ball or bunch with a fillet tied round it (*Fig. VIII, 6*). The noteworthy feature is that this woman having non-Indian features has a coiffure similar to those described above.

This coiffure, combed back hair with or without *sīmanta* and secured in a roundish bun or bunch, may be identified as the *keśapāśa* style. In early Indian art the *keśapāśa* occurs frequently. The sculptures of Bharhut,[53] Amaravati,[54] Mathura[55] and Gāndhāra[56] depict several women with this type of hair-style. However, the adoption of bun as a coiffure appears to be a foreign introduction. The earliest representation of a 'bun' in Indian art is to be seen on the *toraṇas* of Sanchi, datable to the first century B.C.[57] But in this case the person who is shown having this coiffure is a foreigner. An example of an Indian wearing this hair-style can be seen in the early paintings of Ajanta : a palace-maid (*prāsādikā*) is shown here with her hair combed into a fine roundish bun.[58]

The bun, which makes its appearance in India as early as in the 1st century B.C., was extremely common in Greece as also in the Roman Empire. The Greek and Roman ladies showed great aptitude in combing their hair into a bun.[59] Probably due to the flourishing trade that India had with the Roman world, this particular style was introduced into India sometimes in 1st century B.C. This coiffure is a

50 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXIX-a, *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

51 *IAR*, 1955-56, pl. XXXIX-A.

52 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXX-b.

53 Barua, *op. cit.*, III, 17b; LXXVIII, 104, LXXXIX-133; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, Bhārhut, 31d.

54 Barrett, *op. cit.*, XVII, XXIX; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XXXII-1; Sivaramamurti, *op cit*, VI, 1,

55 Dhavalikar, 'Fresh light on the Didarganj yakṣī, *Nagpur Universiity Journal*, vol. XVI: 1965 ; 66; pl. I. See also S. A. She e *Guide to the Archaeological Section* (*Stone sculptures and Terracottas*), Patna (1946), Pl. No. 1 (134); Didarganj yakṣī.

56 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 16, 19, 38, 45.

57 According to Marshall all the four gates of Sānchī can be ascribed to 50-20 B. C.

58 Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pl. III (Oxford, 1946), pl. XXX, c.

59 Oskar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of classical Antiquities* (London, 1957), p. 267.

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common sight in Amaravati sculptures of the early centuries (of the Christian era): It continued to enjoy its popularity at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. This coiffure is present in the Mathura and Gandhāra art and reaches the zenith of its popularity in the vākāṭaka-Gupta period; this is borne out by its innumerable depictions in the later group of Ajanta paintings.

(ii) *The keśapāśa with a loose knot*

Sometimes the hair was combed back and tied into a loose knot forming a loop. An amorous lady is shown with this type of hair style[60] *(Fig. VIII, 7)*. Again, the queen of Māndhātu revealed in the panel[61] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka, is seen with a similar type of coiffure. Her hair at the back is tied in the form of a loop, probably by means of a flower wreath. The parallel examples of this type of coiffure are not wanting in early Indian art. The sculptures of Bharhut,[62] Amaravati,[63] and Gāndhāra[64] reveal many women with *keśapāśaś* with loose knots.

(iii) *Coiffure comprising hair with or without plaiting and allowed to hang down almost to the hips*

This type of coiffure appears to have been the most favoured by the people of the Ikshvāku period; it is evident from their frequent sculptural depictions. The amorous ladies, *nāgiṇis*, queens, female attendants, etc., invariably, appear in the reliefs with this kind of hair-style. An excellent example of this can be seen in the case of an amorous lady illustrated on a *chaitya* slab.[65] Her hair is parted in the middle and braided into a long strip and allowed to dangle on the back. The braided hair terminates in tassels (*gucchas)*; flowers adorn the braided strip all along. The coiffure is further decorated with a diadem and a flower ornament or a boss, presumably of gold *(nāgara type)* on the occiput (*Fig. VIII, 8*). Again, the amorous lady depicted in the panel[66] illustrating 'the lady Amarā and the four wise men' is shown having a similar hair-style. In this case also the hair is braided into a long strip or band and allowed to fall down almost upto the hips: the braided hair ending in tassels seem to contain gold studs[67] resembling the modern *jaḍaguccus (Jaṭā guchcha*). As usual, a flower ornament or boss (*nāgara)* adorns the hair on the occiput.

A clear example of this coiffure is revealed in the case of queen Māyā depicted in the panel[68] illustrating 'the presentation of the child at the śākya temple.'

60 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXIV-a.
61 *Ibid.*, XLIII-b.
62 Barua, *op. cit.*, III, LXXXIV, 125.
63 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, VI, 2; Barrett, *op. cit.*, VII, XXXII-b, XXIIIIV.
64 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 32, 101.
65 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, XXXIII-a-
66 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXVIII-a.
67 *Pādatāḍitaka*, p. 39, quoted by Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
68 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-a.

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A thin transparent piece of cloth or a net covers her hair; a fillet terminating at the ear on either side is tied to secure the covering cloth. A broad band of plaited hair is seen allowed to fall on the back: this is ornamented with gems or other valuables all along its length. The braided hair end in tassels which are provided with caps, probably of gold (*Fig. VIII, 9*). The noteworthy feature of this example is the usage of the net (*Jāla*) for the hair. Sometimes the princesses also practised this style of hairdo.[69] However, it is the attendant class of females that seemed to have favoured this coiffure very much. It is evident from its frequent sculptural depictions[70] (*Fig. VIII, 10*). Their braided hair is often seen ornamented with gems and tagged with tassels. And as usual, the ornamental boss decorated the occiput. But as can be seen from the sculptures, the female attendants in a majority of cases[71] decorated their braided-hair-tassels with (*gucchas*), probably of gold.

This coiffure, with or without plaited hair allowed to dangle on the back with the jewelled strips running all along but not above it, may probably represent the *praveṇī* type of hairdo. This coiffure probably inspired Kālidāsa to compare it with the beautiful dark stream of river Yamuna dotted with the golden flamingoes fluttering on its surface in a continuous streak suggestive of the Mother-Earth arrayed with golden strips.[72]

In early Indian art, the *praveṇī*-style appears frequently to indicate its popularity. The sculptures of Bharhut,[73] Amaravati,[74] Mathura[75] and the early cave paintings of Ajanta[76] depict it profusely. At Bharhut many female worshippers, amorous ladies, female attendants, etc., appear in the reliefs with *praveṇis*. Similarly the Amaravati sculptures frequently reveal *praveṇis* on the females; particularly, on the attendant class. This popularity of the *praveṇī* continued also at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā as is evident from their frequent depictions in the reliefs. The *praveṇī* is almost absent in the Gandhāra art. The occasional depiction of *praveṇī* at Ajanta clearly shows its lesser adoption by the people of the later Vākāṭaka-Gupta period.

An interesting feature of it is that at Sanchi the *praveṇī* is depicted rarely or almost absent. This may, perhaps, be due to the fact that the people at Sanchi were not in favour of this coiffure although contemporary people at Bharhut and Amaravati favoured it most. At Sanchi the tendency was towards combing the hair into a bun or a bunch, as is evident from its frequent sculptural depiction there.

69 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, XXX-B,

70 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a, XXXIX-b; *IAR* 1956-57, PL. LVII-A, and Ramachandra Rao, *op.cit.*, pl. IV.

71 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a, XXXVI-a, XLII-a, XLVIII-a, and XLIX-a.

72 *Raghuvaṁśa*, XV, 30.

73 Barua, *op. cit.*, 17b; XXX-23; XXXIX-34; LI-53; LIII. 55; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 36a.

74 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, VI, 6, IX; 4, 5, 7, 16, XXVIII-3, XXXIV-c, XXXVI-1, LV-b, LX, 2; Barrett, *op. cit.*, XII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXXIV, XXXVI; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XV, 3; XXIII, fig. 3; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 94, 95.

75 Puri *op. cit.*, illustration depicting a dancing scene.

76 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 150.

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(iv) *Hair (plaited or otherwise) allowed to fall on the back from the rear end of sīmanta or keśavīthi*

This coiffure differs from *praveṇī* in having the hair hung down from the rear end of the *sīmanta* (hair-parting) or *keśavīthi* instead of from the occiput as seen in the case of the *praveṇī*. Except for this difference, this coiffure is similar to the *praveṇī* style. However, this fashion is seen in the reliefs generally exhibited by the women of high class society such as queens, princesses, amorous ladies, and ladies performing *dohada*. The female attendants rarely appear in the reliefs with this type of coiffure and they do not seem to have adopted this hair-style as much as they did the *praveṇī*.

A fine example of this coiffure is met with in the case of the river goddess depicted in the panel[77] illustrating the 'gift of earth'. The hair is tressed and allowed to fall on the back from the rear end of *sīmanta*. The tressed hair is seen ornamented with a jewelled strip all along (*Fig. VIII, 11*). In one instance[78] an amorous lady has her undressed hair falling on the back from the rear of her *sīmanta*.

It is, however, the queens that appeared to have favoured this coiffure most. Thus, the queen Māyā in two panels,[79] depicting 'casting the horoscope' and the nativity and the seven steps' appears with her hair plaited and hung down from the back of her *keśavīthi*. Female attendants also appear in the panels[80] with long braided hair hanging down from the rear end of their *sīmantas*.

This coiffure which can be classified as a variant of the *praveṇī*-style resembles the 'pony-tail'[81] which is arranged by modern women in many parts of India. The parallel examples of this coiffure are available in the sculptures of Amaravati[82] and in caves of Karli[83] and Ajaṇta.[84] It can be known from the sculptures that this coiffure had gained popularity at Amaravati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā along with the *praveṇī* type of coiffure, and becomes less common in the later period.

(v) *Curled hair*

The curly hair style occurs frequently in the reliefs, and in fact such hair have been immortalized by the sculptors of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The sinuous flow of the hair, especially the *cikuras* or *bhramarakas* (small ringlets near the forehead), can best be seen in the case of the female attendant depicted in an unidentified panel.[85]

77 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXV-b.

78 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-a.

79 *Ibid.*, pl. XX-a; XX-b.

80 *Ibid.*, XXXIX-b, and XLIX-b, pl. XXI-a.

81 Long hair plaited or otherwise and secured by means of a fillet or ribbon at the rear end of the *sīmanta* forms the style called the '*pony tail*' worn by the present-day ladies, especially the unmarried girls.

82 Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XV-2, XXIII, fig. 3, XLIX-3.

83 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 82.

84 *Ibid.*, 152.

85 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-a; cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 2.

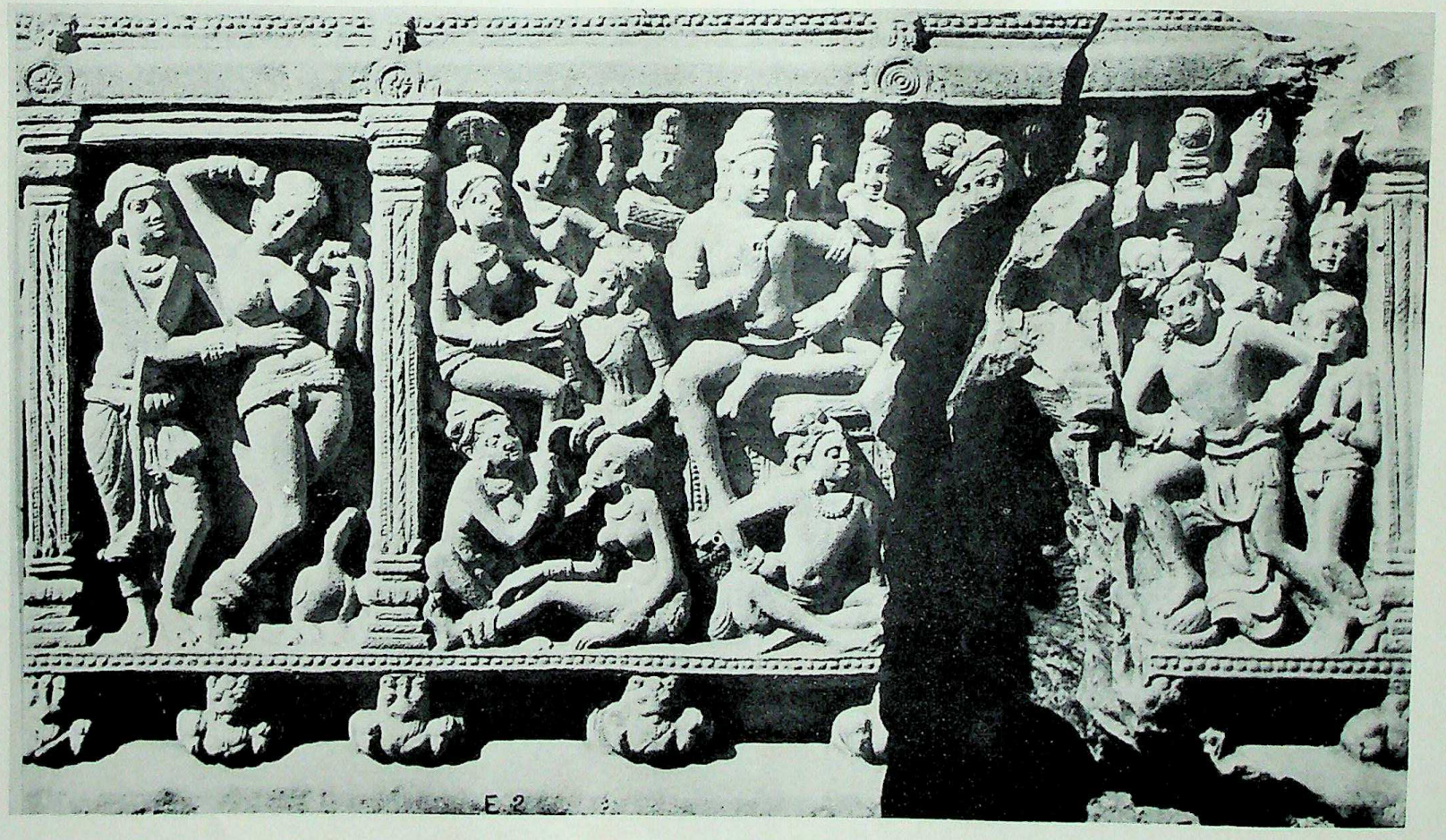

Plate XVIII Unidentified Panel

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(Pl. XVIII). The beauty of the curly hair is well expressed in the Gāthāsaptaśatī[86] wherein a lady implores her husband, who has just returned from a long journey, not to go away again since the curly hair straightened by neglect during the separation have not yet attained their original curly shape. The beautiful curly hair is often described in the Jātakas as well.[87]

(vi) *Simple and unplaited hair grouped into a bundle*

This type of hairdo is well represented by the female attendant Upasāgarā in the panel[88] illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka. Her hair is seen bundled over the head in a fan-shaped arrangement: a flower ornament or boss, presumably of gold, decorates the hair (*Fig. VIII, 12, 14*). In another instance,[89] a lady is shown gathering her hair into a bundle on one side of the head. However, in this case, the *sīmanta* is also to be seen. This hair style can be identified as the *keśabandha* type. Somewhat parallel examples of this can be seen in the Sātavāhana[90] and the Gandhāra art.[91]

(vii) *Simple hair rolled up and devoid of any loop*

This coiffure differs from the *keśapāsa* type in its being devoid of the loop. This has been represented in the reliefs more than once. It is mostly seen on the female attendants. A beautiful example of this hair-style can be seen in the case of female attendant depicted in the panel[92] illustrating 'Sagata and the Nāga of the mango ferry:' she is having her hair simply rolled up, and an *agrapaṭṭa* adorns it on the forehead. (*Fig. VIII, 15*). Again, an amorous lady depicted in the panel[93] illustrating 'Māra's assult' has rolled up her hair and a wreath adorns them. Such flower wreaths, adorning this type of coiffure, are very often mentioned in literature[94] and this hair-style can be identified as the *kabarībandha* style. The parallel examples of *kabarībandha* occur at Bharhut[95] Amaravati[96] and in the Gandhāra art.[97]

(viii) *Hair dressed in fan-shaped tiaras*

This kind of hair-style is found in the case of an amorous lady.[98] She has arranged her hair in an exquisite fan-shaped projection in tiaras over the head.

86 *Gāthāsaptśatī*, iii, 73.
87 *J,V*, No. 586, p. 105; VI, No. 540, p. 49.
88 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLVI-a.
89 *Ibid.*, pl. XVII-c.
90 Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. LIII, 16.
91 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 174.
92 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII-a.
93 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-a.
94 *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, Act. VI, p. 183; *Gītagovinda*, 21.
95 Barua, *op. cit.*, fig. 10.
96 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, Fig. 21; VI, fig. 4 & 9; Barrett, *op. cit.*, XXIX; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XV. 3, L.1.
97 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 31.
98 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXIII-c and *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

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This arrangement of the hair appears to be less favoured by the people of the Ikshvāku period as is evident from their scanty sculptural depiction (*Fig. VIII, 13*) at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

(ix) *Hair in the peacock-plume mode*

A fine example of this coiffure comes from the panel illustrating 'the transport of the relics.' A female attendant is shown with the hair-style resembling a peacock's plume. As already stated, this coiffure is fairly common in the early period.

(x) *Coiffure of the Sikhaṇḍa type*

This coiffure, though generally associated with children, was also adopted by the elders. In the reliefs, it is associated with female attendants, princesses and amorous ladies: of them, the female attendants[99] excel all others in its adoption and invariably, flower wreaths are seen adorning this coiffure. This coiffure was at times favoured by princesses.[100] Thus, the princess Devagabbā is shown with her hair arranged in a cone. However, the flower wreath which usually decorated this type of coiffure is absent here.

Sometimes this coiffure consisted of two egg-shaped balls arranged over the head, as is evidenced in the case of an amorous lady and a nymph.[101] The 'balls in the coiffures are richly decorated with flower wreaths. Comparable examples of the *śikhaṇḍa* hair style occur at Bharhut,[102] Amaravati[103] and in the Gandhāra art.[104]

(xi) *Jaṭābhāra and śikhaṇḍa modes combined*

A fine example of this kind of hair style comes from the panel[105] illustrating a lady (probably a *tapasvinī*) getting into the fire from a ladder. She is shown with her matted locks rolled up (*Jaṭābhāra*) and secured into an egg-shaped ball (*śikhaṇḍa*). The *śikhaṇḍa* is formed by tying it with an ornamental band (*Fig. VIII, 16*). Thus an example of the *Jaṭābhāra* and *śikhaṇḍa* modes combined to form a new style is seen in her coiffure. Again, precisely similar coiffure is found in the case of Mādri depicted in the panel illustrating Vessantara Jātaka. She is shown with her hair rolled up and secured into a ball shape. In one instance[106] a queen is shown with this kind of a hairdo : she has her hair rolled up and secured into spirals forming a conical ball. Comparable examples of the *Jaṭābhāra* and the *śikhaṇḍa* styles combined

99 Longhurst, *ap. cit.*, pl. XLIII-a, XLVIII-a, XLIII-b, XXXVI-a and *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A

100 *Ibid*, pl. XLVI-a.

101 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-a.

102 Barua *op. cit.*, fig. 17-b.

103 Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-b.

104 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*; 41, 101.

105 *IAR*, 1958-59, pl. VI-B. She could have been also a lady comitting sati sacrifice.

106 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XXXIX-a

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together occur throughout early Indian art: at Bharhut,[107] Amaravati,[108] Goli[109] and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the depiction of this coiffure is profuse. It is also present at Khandagiri-Udayagiri[110] and Mathura.[111]

(xii) *Plain hair with a parting or sīmanta or keśavīthi*

The parting of the hair in the middle was very common in the Ikshvāku period. The women took keen care in executing this *sīmanta* in their hairdos. The hair was usually combed horizontally on either side of the dividing line, *simanta* (parting). The *simanta* that appears in the reliefs is either broad—as seen in the case of queen Māyā, female attendants, and a lady depicted in the panels[112] illustrating 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana', Dighitīkosala Jātaka and on a sculptural fragment or sharp and thin—as it appears on the head of an amorous lady and female attendants depicted in the reliefs.[113]

(xiii) *Undressed hair*

The instances of undressed hair occur in the reliefs more than once. In the panel[114] illustrating 'the subjugation of the elephant Nalagirī' a lady with dishevelled hair is shown running in panic as the ferocious elephant Nalagirī heads towards the Buddha. The Nāga queen Sumanā appears in the panel[115] with undressed hair a few locks of which are seen dangling on her shoulder. The village women depicted in the panel illustrating a village scene[116] also appear with undressed hair. They have either allowed their hair just to fall back on the shoulder without even combing a parting line on the middle (*Fig. VIII, 18*) or have just secured the hair into a bunch on the occiput. In this case, a rough parting line, presumably made by hand, can be seen. The undressed hair of the village women probably indicates their poor status and partly their negligence in hair-dressing.

The treatment of the hair or hair-dressing required a regular procedure. According to the *Milindapanha*[117] it included first shampooing (*dhovana*) followed by the tying of ribbons (*bandhana*), combing (*kocca*) and then the hair-dressing (*kappaka*). This was done in front of a pure mirror (*ādarśa maṇḍala*).[118] An excellent example

107 Barua, *op. cit.*, 10, LXXVIII, 106, LXXXIII, 121, LXXXVI, 127.

108 cf. Sivaramamurti., *op. cit.*, pl. VII. fig. 15 to 18.

109 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Golī Sculptures), pl. VI-F.

110 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, II, figs. 50-51.

111 Puri, *op. cit.*, illustration of Dancing Scene.

112 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a; XLVII-a; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XI-A.

113 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl., XLI-a; XXXIX-b; and Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. IV,

114 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXII-b.

115 *Ibid* pl. XXXVIII-b.

116 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, XXX-A.

117 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-A, 11.11.10.

118 *Lalita Vistara*, p. VI, p. 72.16.

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of a *prāsādikā* dressing the hair of her mistress occurs on a sculptural fragment[119] at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā : in this, the mistress is shown with a mirror held in her hand; she is actually looking in the mirror while her *prasādikā* is engaged in combing the hair with *kocca*. Such depictions of hair-dressing are very common in the sculptures of Amaravati and Mathura.

HEAD DRESSES

The head-dresses are shown as a remarkable feature of personal attire in the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Except the persons who took to ascetic life all others appear in the sculptures with some sort of a head-dress. But what surprises one is that the people who are shown less or scantily clad appear to have been very particular in their unfailing use of the head-dress. Men and women occur in the reliefs with head-dresses: their depictions in the sculptures are many and varied. This abundance of depicted instances and their great variety almost baffles any endeavour at classification of the head dresses. The variety ranges from a most simple head-dress, comprising only a group of fillets, to the most complex turbans embelished with jewels and various other devices.

Broadly, three categories of head-dresses are met with in the case of male figures. They include : (i) a ready-made turban resembling the *pagrī* like that of a modern Brahmin, (ii) a turban made by winding round (the head) a long rolled scarf so as to cover the hair wholly or partly and (iii) a cap which, however, is to be found in a very few cases.

As regards the head-dresses of women, we find a turban similar to that worn by men. There were also light head-dresses like a thin piece of cloth which covered the hair and the hair-knot over which was tied a fillet on the forehead and a band round the hair-knot, or a group of fillets tied on the head in the various fashions.

These head-dresses were generally decorated by fixing in them ornamental devics, like discs, flowers or leaves, probably made of some metal, or string of beads gems and pearls. Sometimes plumes were tucked in the hair or in fillet that bound it.

I. MALE HEAD-DRESSES

(i) *Kings*

Kings, in the reliefs, appear mostly wearing ready-made head-dresses. Only in one instance, a king is shown with a turban made by winding around a rolled scarf. The decorations found on the top-members of the head-dresses generally included a string of pearls, floral or leaf designs, protruding knobs, etc.

Śuddhodana's head-dress, depicted in the panel[120] illustrating 'casting the horoscope' is ready-made and highly ornate. In this the central ornament, which is shaped like a segment of a circle, is nxed in the top-member and the head-dress consists of a knot on the middle of the chord and a string of pearls along the are

119 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. IX. 3.

120 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a; cf. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), IX-6.

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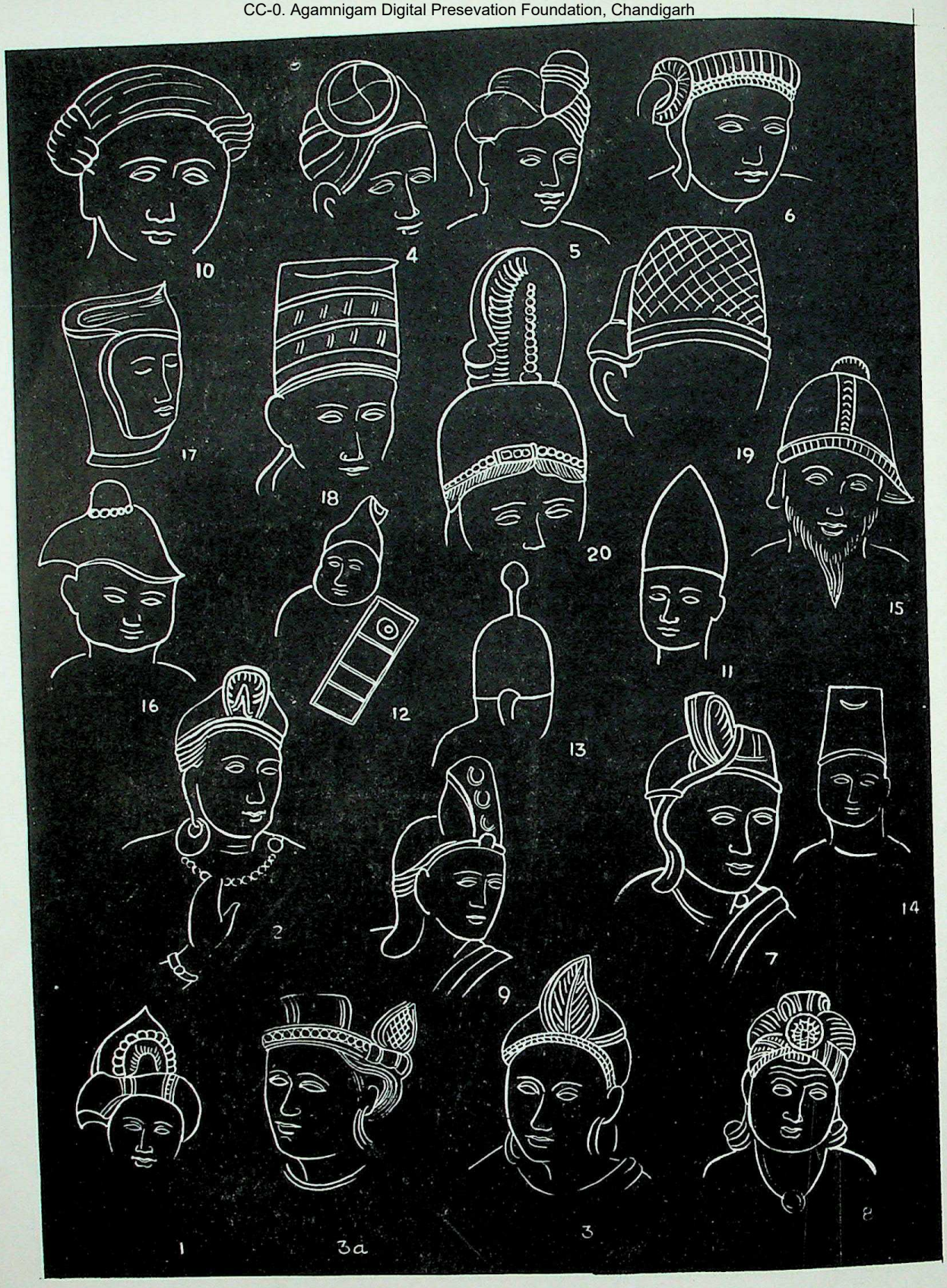

Fig. IX Head Dresses

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(*Fig. IX, 1*). As evidenced in the panel[121] this type of the head-dress was one of those favoured by the kings.

A different type of head-dress is shown on the king of Banaras in the panel[122] depicting the Campeyya Jātaka. He offers a new type of ready-made dress which is ornate with a top-member and a floral ornament fixed in the centre (*Fig. IX, 2*). Again, the king Śibi[123] appears with a similar head-dress. In his case, however, the head-dress is worn slightly tilted to the left exposing his hair on the right side. Except for this mode of wearing the ready-made turban the head-dress exhibits no dissimilarity with that described earlier. This kind of wearing the head-dress in a slanting position appears to be the characteristic feature of the kings depicted in the reliefs.[124]

Similarly at Amarāvāti[125] in many instances, kings appear with this type of a head-dress.

Yet in another panel[126] illustrating Dighīti-Kosala Jātaka the king is shown with a new type of a head-dress. It is of a different type —much like a short crown— and has its top-member on the left side; the top-member is ornamented with leaf-design. The front fillet of this head dress is, it seems, decked with jewels (*Fig. IX, 3a*). The *yaksha*, Ālavaka, represented in the panel[127] depicting 'conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka' shows a ready-made turban similar to the one described above. (*Fig. IX, 3*). Such head-dresses with leaf designs are available for parallels in the sculptures of Amaravati[128] Jaggayapeta[129] and Bhaja.[130]

In another panel[131] a king wears a complex turban with a top member to the right side: a protruding knob is fixed in the centre and a fillet tied around it with its tassels dangling. In this case, the turban does not seem to be a ready-made one, but is the result of winding round the head a long and rolled scarf, as is evident from the sculpture.

It is only in the panels of the Māndhātu Jātaka[132] that the king, Māndhātu, twice appears bare-headed, without any head-dress. Save this example, nowhere in the reliefs the king is shown without a head-dress.

121 Longhurst, *op., cit.*, pl. XXI-a, pl. XXV-a, XXXVIII-a, XLVIII-a, XXXVI-b and XLV-a.

122 Longhurst *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-b. Compare also Burgess, *op. cit.*, [pl. XV. 2, XXXII. 2; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a-2, XXXVI-1; cf. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli).

123 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-a.

124 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII-b.

125 Barrett, *op. cit*, pl. XII, XVII, XXIV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXVI, XLV.

126 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-a. compare, Amarāvatī, Burgess, *op. cit.*, pls. XV, 1. XVI, 1.

127 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX-b.

128 Burgess, *op. cit.*, pls. XV. 1; XVI. 1; XLVI. 1.

129 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Jaggayyāpeṭa) 37.

130 *Ibid.*, 43.

131 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-c.

132 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX, a and b.

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(ii) *Amorous males*

In a majority of cases the head-dresses worn by the males were ready-made, as in the case of kings. All the types recur with a few additions to this variety. Thus, the amorous male depicted in the panel[133] illustrating 'the admission of the six Śākya princes and the barber Upāli to the order' wears a ready made head-dress. The central ornament of his head-dress is in the shape of the segment of a circle, and is fixed in the top-member, and has a knob on the middle of the chord and astring of pearls along the arc. However, head-dresses with floral ornamentations seem to have been a favourite[134] in the males of the amorous couples. They are depicted in a panel[135] illustrating 'prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden' and offer a different type of head-dress. In this case, a big circular flower ornament, having only four petals, adorns the turban.

Another type of turban is to be seen adorning the heads of the males (of the amorous couples) depicted in the panels illustrating 'a *cakravartin* and seven jewels,'[136] and 'prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden.'[137] In this case the turban does not seem to be a ready-made one: it has been arranged by winding (round the head) a rolled scarf so as to form a fan shaped loop at the front. That it is not a ready-made turban can be known from the distinct bands of the rolled scarf. (*Fig. IX, 4*).

Sometimes to the ready-made turban a leaf was added.[138] In some other case the head-dress had a ball and a segmented circle on either side.[139] The ball was decorated with a string of pearls.

(iii) *Gods*

Without exception the gods appear (in the reliefs) with either ready-made head-dresses or with those obtained by winding around a rolled scarf on the head. In a few cases turbans or tiaras resembling *ardhamukuṭas*, half-crowns or short crowns adorn their heads. All the varieties found in the case of kings are also repeated here with a few new additions.

Thus, some of the gods represented in the panel[140] illustrating 'the transportation of Gautama's head-dress to heaven' are shown with a head-dress wound round the head, with a circular plaque, and consisting of a floral design in the centre on the forehead. This type of a head-dress is seen worn by the gods in the sculptures very frequently.[141]

133 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-b.
134 *Ibid*, pl. XXIX-a.
135 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-a.
136 *Ibid.*, XXVII-c.
137 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-a.
138 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII-b.
139 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-a, and XXXIV-a.
140 *Ibid.*, pl. XX-a.
141 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII-a, XIV-a, XIX-c, XX-a, and XIX-d.

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Sometimes, gods in the reliefs appear with a ready-made head dress which is highly ornate with a top-member having a floral ornament fixed in the centre.[142]

At times, a head-dress with its top-member ornamented with leaf design is also seen adorning the heads of the gods, as evident from some of the panels.[143] But the adornment of the front fillet of these head-dresses with jewels, as seen otherwise in the case of the royal head-dresses of this type, is absent here. Another type of a head-dress, which is generally seen worn by the gods, is the ready-made turban type with an ornament tied at the top.[144]

On another instance[145] two gods appear with a simple turban having an egg-shaped ornament tied in the centre, presumably by means of strings (*Fig. IX, 5*). This is an addition to the types of head-dresses appearing in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs. Parallel examples of this type can be seen at Bharhut,[146] Sanchi,[147] Amaravati,[148] and in Gandhāra[149] art.

A quite different type of head-dress is seen in the panel[150] illustrating 'the transportation of Gautama's head-dress to heaven.' The god, standing behind the one who is carrying Gautama's head-dress in a tray, wears a head-dress which is very much like a tiara with an ornament on the right. The front fillet of this head-dress is adorned, probably, with jewels (*Fig. IX, 6*).

(iv) *Princes*

Fine examples of a prince's head-dress can be seen in the panels illustrating 'the transportation of Gautama's head-dress to heaven,'[151] and 'the life scene of Buddha,' on a casing slab.[152] Prince Gautama's head-dress, depicted in these panels, is a ready-made one; highly ornate, with a large top-member and a floral ornament fixed in the centre. It is adorned with a row of pearls. But prince Siddhārtha depicted in the panel[153] illustrating 'prince Siddhārtha and the mighty bow,' wears this turban in a different manner. In this case the head-dress has its top-member to the left instead in the front as seen above.

142 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XIX-d, XX-a, XX-b, XXI-a, XXII-a, XIV-a, b and c, XXVIII-c; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl.X-B and XXX-B.

143 Longhurst, *op.cit.*, pls. XX-b, XXII-a; XXIII-a, XIV-a, XXVIII-b and *IAR* 1956-57, pl, VII-A; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. X-B; XXX-B.

144 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XIX-d, XX-b, XXIII-a, XIV-a; XIX-c; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. X-B; XXX-B.

145 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII-a.

146 Barua, *op. cit.*, Book III, pls. XV-13C; XXXVI, 30, 31 XLIX, 51; LI, 54, LXXXVII, 103.

147 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV, XXXVI, LVII, LXI.

148 Berrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI.

149 Marshall *op. cit.*, pl. 5, fig, 7, pl. 62, 90.

150 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII-a.

151 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-a.

152 Ramachandran, *op. cit* , pl. XXX-B.

153 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII-a.

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However, a new type of head-dress is seen worn by prince Upasāgara depicted in the panel[154] illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka: his turban does not seem to be a ready-made one. He has wound round the head a rolled scarf with a top member, probably of metal, fixed in the centre. The top-member contains a curved design in double lines on its exterior as shown in the illustration. (*Fig. IX, 7*).

(v) *Dwarfs*

As the dwarfs depicted in the panels appear bare headed information regarding their head-dress is scanty. However, the dwarf depicted on an ornate pillar[155] offers a good example of a head-dress: his head-dress has a circular floral ornament in the centre; the flower being a double lotus with numerous petals. The cylindrical top-member appears more be a part of the scarf itself and arranged by twisting the hair knot. It does not seem to be a detached or a tucked in item (*Fig. IX, 8*). In another instance[156] a dwarf appears with a head-dress, having ornaments on two sides. His front fillet appears to have been decorated with studs.

(vi) *Ministers*

The minister, depicted in the panel[157] illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka, wears a turban made by winding a rolled scarf round the head: a rectangular metal plaque is seen tied to the head-dress at the front side, (*Fig. IX, 9*). This type of head-dress appears to have been restricted to the ministers.

At times, this, the rectangular metal plaque that adorned the head-dress, contained designs[158] resembling that found on the head-dress of prince Upāsāgara in the panel illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka.

A minister depicted in the panel[159] illustrating 'a *cakravartin* and seven jewels,' wears a turban to which a leaf is added. In this case also the turban does not seem to be a ready-made one. In yet another panel[160] a minister appears with a head-dress having a 'ball' on top of the head. Evidently, this turban, too, is not a ready-made one but was attained by winding a rolled scarf around the head with a ball-shaped member on the top of the head.

(vii) *Generals*

The general, represented in the panel[161] illustrating 'a king denouncing Brahmanism,' who appears with a turban like head-dress perhaps has the simplest of

154 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-a; cf. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII, XLVIII.

155 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-b.

156 *Ibid.*, pl, XXVII-a.

157 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

158 *Ibid.*, pl. XXV-a.

159 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-b.

160 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-a.

161 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-a.

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all the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā turbans (*Fig. IX, 10)*. This is the only instance which offers the head-dress of a general in the reliefs.

(viii) *Palace and Court attendants*

A *chaurī*-bearer ((*cāmaradhārī*) depicted in the panel[162] illustrating 'the gods exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to mankind,' is shown wearing a turban which was arranged by winding a rolled scarf round the head and with a circular plaque in its centre, on the forehead. The plaque contained floral design. This type of turban seems to have been favoured by the *cāmaradhāris*; this is evident from several sculptural depictions.[163] Sometimes, the *cāmaradhāras* appear in the reliefs with a ready-made turban having a top-member and the floral ornament fixed in the centre.[164]

The *cāmaradhārī* depicted in the panel[165] illustrating 'the renunciation or going forth,' wears a turban adorned with the leaf-design. The *chhatradhārī*, in the same panel, is shown wearing a ready-made turban with a large top-member and a floral ornament fixed in the centre. But the *cāmaradhārī* depicted in the panel[166] illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park' offers a new type of head-dress. The head-dress worn by her does not appear to be a ready-made one; it was probably obtained by winding a rolled scarf around the head and a circular plaque, with studs all around the circle, fixed in the centre.

(ix) *Soldiers*

Soldiers in a majority of cases, in the reliefs, are depicted wearing head-dress. The soldiers shown in the panels[167] illustrating 'a battle scene' and Mahāpaduma Jātaka,' with the head-dresses that have ornaments tied at the top. In another panel[168] a soldier appears with a head-dresses that has its central ornament, shaped like the segment of a circle, fixed in the top-member. A string of pearls can be seen all along the arc thus made.

In yet another panel,[169] revealing a battle scene, a soldier is seen wearing a head-dress adorned with a leaf design.

162 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-a; cf. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, 2; XVI, 5; XXII, 1; XXII. 3; XXII, 2; XXVI, 1. 3; XXXII, 2; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. VI, XIX, XXV, XLI, XIII, XXVIII; Marshall, *op. cit.*, Gandhara, 3b, 4a, pl. 5, fig. 7. pl. 8, fig. 10a, pl. 39, fig. 62; pl, 71, fig. 101; Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 10, 14, 50, 66, 101, 102, 324.

163 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV-a, XLVIII-a.

164 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII-b.

165 *Ibid.*, pl. XXVIII-c.

166 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-b.

167 *Ibid*, pl. XXXIII-a, and XLV-b.

168 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII-a.

169 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIII-b.

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(x) *Common people*

An attendant in an unidentified panel[170] (Pl. XIX) wears a peculiar turban. Its front fillet, above the forehead, is adorned with a string of large beads and on the right side the turban is mounted over with a solid spherical knot.

(xi) *Caps*

The occurrence of caps and helmets in the bas-reliefs is scanty as compared to the other types of head-dresses. Nevertheless, the specimens that are available are noteworthy, and give an idea of the various kinds of caps and helmets that were in vogue during the Ikshvāku period.

(a) *Conical caps*

The soldiers depicted in panels illustrating village scenes,[171] Mahāpaduma Jātaka[172] and 'king Kappinaś conversion,'[173] wear conical and tall pointed caps (*Fig IX, 11.*) Sometimes, these pointed caps were endowed with streamers which fluttered behind the person's head. This is seen in the case of a foot-soldier carrying the shield in the panel illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion' (*Fig. IX, 12.*) Very similar caps, with streamers, are seen worn by foreigners, probably Persians, in the orchestra scene at Sanchi[174] and the Becchnalian scene at Ajanta, in cave No. 1.[175] Many of the conical caps sculptured at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā are exactly similar to those worn by some of the Śaka chieftains as sculptured at Mathura[176] and in Gandhāra.[177] In all probability the soldiers that are seen wearing these conical caps at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā may also be foreigners, presumably, Romans or Scythians with whom Nāgārjunakoṇḍā people came into contact through trade in the early centuries of the Christian era. These conical caps have been identified as the *kulaha* caps referred by Bāṇa. Agrawala rightly infers that the word *kulaha* has been derived from the Persian *khola*.[178]

(b) *Feathered caps*

A soldier depicted in the panel[179] illustrating a battle scene wears a domical round cap: at the centre of the dome, on the top, is fixed a hollow tube to receive the feathers as can be seen in the illustration (*Fig. IX, 13.*). Similar feathered caps are

170 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV-c.

171 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

172 Longhust, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-b.

173 *Ibid.*, pl. L-a, also see *ASIAR*, 1927-28, no. 2, pl. LII.

174 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII.

175 Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. I, (Oxford, 1930), XXXIX.

176 Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, a-b.

177 Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veshabhūsha* (in Hindi) (Allahabad, 1953); p. 114. fig. 157.

178 *Harşacharita* ; *EK sāṁskritika Adhyayana* (in Hiṁdi), (Patna 1955) p. 155.

179 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-a.

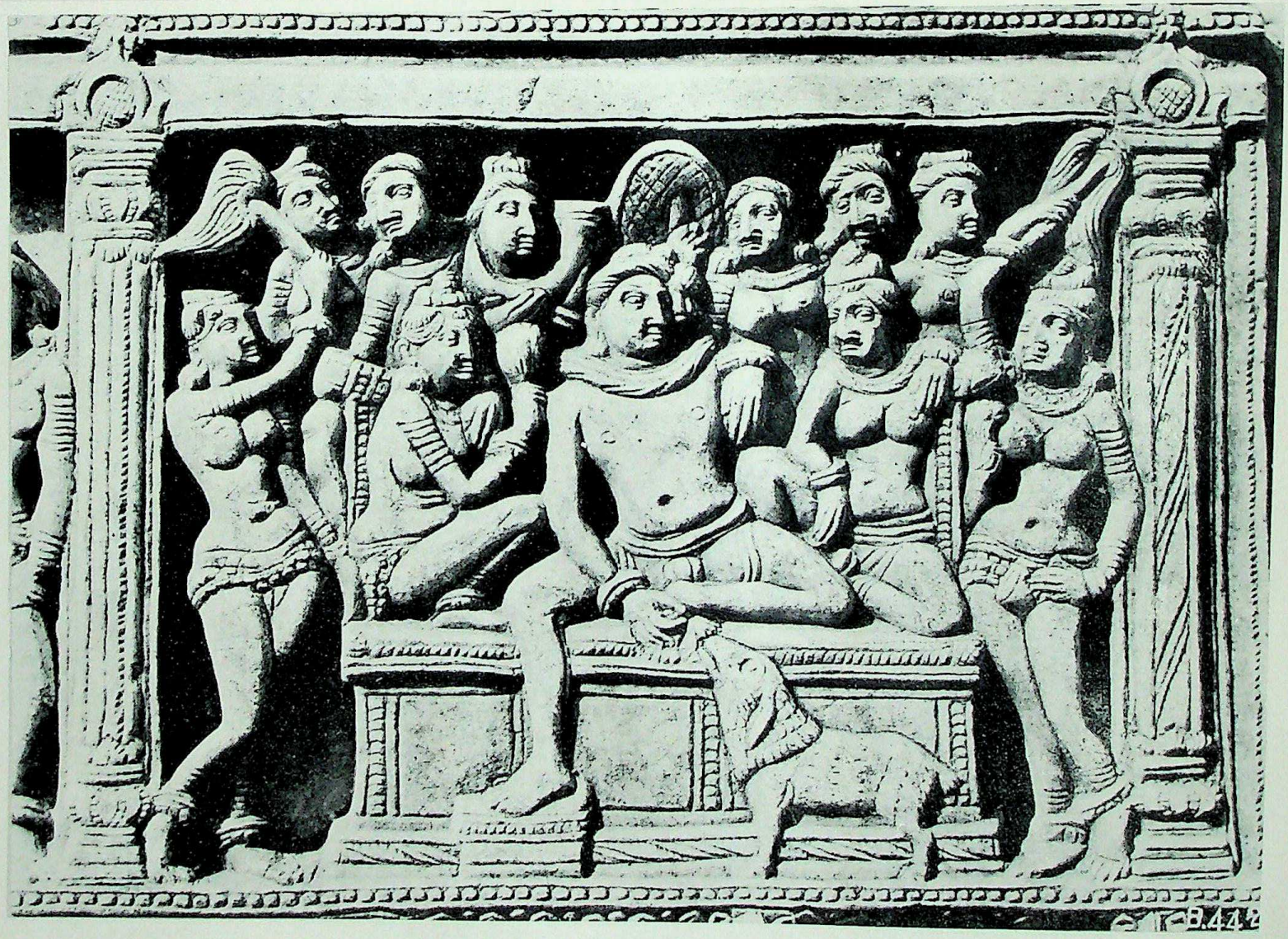

Plate XIX Unidentified Panel

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seen worn by the foreigners in the Gandhāra Art.[180] Therefore, the soldier that wears a similar cap at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā may also be one such foreigner.

Again, a cart-man, depicted in the panel[181] illustrating 'Trapusha and Bhallika visiting the Buddha,' appears with a feathered cap but in a different manner. In his case the feather is seen tucked on the top of the cap and the hollow rod which is present in the former cases is absent here.

(c) *Knobbed caps*

An elephant rider (*hastipaka*) depicted in the panel[182] illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion' is seen with this type of a cap. The cap has a round shape with a knob at the top (Pl. VI.) Some of the males of the *mithunas* (couples)[183] wear similar domical caps with round knobs on the top. The shape of these caps resembles a bowl placed upside-down, and gives the appearance of a cap made of some metal.

(d) *Cylindrical caps*

Prince Lakshmaṇa appears in the panel[184] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka with a cap which is cylindrical in shape; it has a depression at the top (*Fig IX, 14).* A king is also shown with a similar cap which has a double band at the bottom i.e., just above the forehead; its shape is like a bowl placed upside down. This cap is decorated with a linear design, which appears like an embossed one, thus making it probable that was of some metal. A somewhat similar cylindrical cap is to be seen on the head of a *chhatradhara* depicted in the panel[185] illustrating the life scenes of the Buddha on an inscribed panel.

The god Indra appears, in the reliefs[186] with a curious head-dress which is tall and cylindrical. It is often decorated with an over all chequered pattern (*Fig. IX, 18, 19.)* As Indra invariably appears with this tall cylindrical head-dress it has become a characteristic feature of the god and thus remains a reliable criterion for identifying his representations in early Buddhist art.[187]

However, *Śakra*, traditionally the *kiriṭin* (wearer of the crown), wears only a turban in his earliest representarions at Sanchi[188] and Bhaja.[189] And the crown is

180 Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 112, fig. 159.

181 Ramachandra, *op. cit.*, IV-b.

182 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV-a.

183 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, XXXII, *IAR* 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

184 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl., XLV-a.

185 *Ibid.*, pl. XLI-a.

186 *Ibid.*, pls. XLII-a, XLIII-a, XLIV-a and b.

187 For excellent discussion of Indiras head-dress, see Coomaraswamy, 'Early-Indian Iconography-Indra", *Eastern Art*, Vol. 1, 1928, pp. 33f.

188 Sivaramamurti. 'Geographical and Chronological factors in Indian Iconography', *AI*, No. 6, fig. 2a, p. 23.

189 Sivarmamurti, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, d, p. 23.

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replaced by the turban in the later sculptures on the gates at Sanchi itself.[190] But in later Sātavāhana, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, Mathura and Gandhara sculptures, *Indra* or *Śakra* wears a distinctive crown.[191] Thus, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā complete replacement of cylindrical head-dress for turban has taken place in cases where Indra is depicted and nowhere in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs *Śakra* appears with a turban.

(e) *Monkey cap*

A curious head-dress resembling a monkey cap is generally seen worn by older people to cover an almost bald head. Thus, the *kañcukin*, represented in the panel[192] illustrating 'the admission of the six *śākya* princes and the barber Upālī to the Order,' appears with this type of a cap (Pl. V). Exactly similar is the cap worn by the *kañcukin* represented in the Amaravati sculptures.[193] As construed by Sivarmamurti,[194] this cap approximately resembles the skull-cap mentioned in the Mahāummagga Jātaka (VI, No. 546, p.187) as worn by Senaka and others.

(f) *Cap resembling that of the Eskimos*

A person depicted in the panel illustrating 'a *cakravartin* and his seven jewels' offers another peculiar type of a head-dress. It resembles an Eskimo's cap, covering the lower jaw and the neck[195] (*Fig. IX, 17.*)

(g) *Plain round caps*

A *hastipaka*, and a conch blower appear in the reliefs[196] with a simple, round cap.

(xii) *Helmets (Śirastrāṇa)*

Example of a helmet, worn by a foreigner, comes from an ornate pillar.[197] A Scythian warrior is shown with a helmet crowned by a knob (*Fig. IX, 15*). It is again Channa[198] who appears invariably with a helmet on his head (*Fig. IX, 16*). The next class that appears with a helmet is generally the soldier. Thus, some of the soldiers, depicted in the panel[199] revealing a battle scene, wear helmets on their heads. However, in one panel[200] an interesting helmet is seen: horse-man appears with a

190 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.
191 *Ibid.*, p. 23. See also figs. 2,d for Amarāvatī and fig. 2, c for Gāndhāra.
192 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl.. XXXIV-b.
193 Sivarmamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, fig. 14.
194 *Ibid.*, pl. 105.
195 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII-c
196 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX-b and XXI-a.
197 *Ibid.*, pl. X-c.
198 *Ibid.*, pls. XXI-b; XXVIII-c; *IAR* 1956-57, pl. VII-A.
199 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.
200 *Ibid.*, pl. LII.

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helmet on his head. His helmet, unlike those hitherto described, has a hallow rod protruding from the top: at its terminal, probably, feathers were tucked.

II. FEMALE HEAD-DRESSES

As seen in the case of males the female figures in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā bas-reliefs are also shown, in a majority of cases, with head-dress. Generally, women appear to have used the same head-dresses as were popular with the males. In some cases details of the head-dresses show an improvement upon the male head-dresses.

(i) *Queens*

A graceful head-dress for a queen is seen in the case of Māyā in the panel[201] illustrating 'nativity and seven steps.' The head-dress is rendered tall by adding a *maulimaṇi* at the top; this ornament consists of a dangling string of pearls from its centre, and the bottom of the head-dress is again adorned with a string of pearls. As the head-dress does not completely cover the head only a part, of that seen in the front, is visible (*Fig.IX, 20.*) This head-dress has similarity with the head-dresses of Gautama,[202] Śuddhodana[203] and to some extent that of a *Nāga's*.[204] But, it differs from all these in having its ornamental top-member.

Sometimes the queens discarded this kind of heavy head-dress and favoured lighter ones which, not in the least, diminished the beauty of their person. Thus, the queen Māyā depicted in the panel[205] illustrating presentation of the child to the Sākya temple has a thin transparent piece of cloth (a net like thing) covering her hair. A fillet is tied to secure this cover on the forehead, which terminates at the ear on either side. Two broad bands, decorated with gems or other valuables, one on each side, are tied to the two ends of this fillet, which fall on the back.

(ii) *Amorous ladies*

The amorous ladies depicted in the panels illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow[206] and nativity and seven steps[207] wear a head-dress with a circular ornament on the top. In another panel,[208] an amorous lady wears a similar head-dress with a slight change in the ornament's detail; here this member is cylindrical instead of a circular one as seen above and placed horizontally at the top of the head.

In another panel[209] an amorous lady appears with a different type of head-dress. In this case she wears a ready-made head-dress with a circular ornament on

201 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-b.
202 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-a.
203 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI-a.
204 *Ibid.* pl. XXIV-a.
205 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI-a.
206 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-a.
207 *Ibid.* pl.XXXVIII-a.
208 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-a.
209 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

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either side. In a vertical panel[210] portraying an amorous couple the lady is shown wearing a highly ornamental head-dress which like that of in the case of queen Māyā, leaves a portion of her hair on the forehead uncovered. The botton of the head-dress is covered with a fillet and from the centre of which hangs an ornamental pendant on the forehead. The man, her lover, is shown adjusting her head-dress.

In another panel the lady of an amorous couple appears with an interesting turban. The upper-member of the turban is simply of a rolled piece of cloth, tied at two places, and thus dividing it into three parts.

Again, an amorous lady depicted in an unidentified panel[211] wears a different kind of head-dress. She has tucked some feathers in the front fillet and from the middle of which hangs a big gem like a pendant (*Fig. VIII, 17*)

(iii) *Semi-devine beings*

Māra's daughters, depicted in the panel[212] illustrating 'Māra's assault' wear a simple head-dress with a circular ornament at the top; it resembles the ones worn by some of the amorous ladies.[213]

(iv) *Palace attendants*

The most favoured head-dresses of the palace attendants, as is evident from the sculptural depictions,[214] are those that have a circular or a cylindrical ornament kept horizontally over the head. In some cases they are seen wearing turbans; simply wound around their heads.[215] At times these simple turbans were adorned with a circular ornament in the centre. This can be known from the head-dresses on some of the female attendants depicted in the panels[216] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka and an unidentified panel. The *chhatradhāriṇī* depicted in the Daśaratha Jātaka and the *cāmaradhāriṇī* revealed in the unidentified panel wear turbans arranged by winding a rolled scarf around the head; in the centre of these turbans tied circular plaques containing floral designs, can be seen.

In some instances the female attendants do not seem to have favoured these heavy turbans and were content with much lighter ones. Thus, a panel illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka[217] some of these appear with their hair gathered in a knot at the top of their heads; at the bottom of the knot are tied two fillets—one is placed near the left ear and the other on the right. And instead of placing these fillets on

210 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX–b.
211 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIII-c.
212 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.
213 *Ibid.*, pls. XXXIII-a; XXVIII-a.
214 *Ibid.*; pls. XX-a, XXI-a, XXVIII-a, XXXII-a, XXXVI-a, XXXIX-a.
215 *Ibid.*, pls. XX-a, XXXII-a.
216 *Ibid.*, pls. XXV-a, XXI-a.
217 *Ibid.*, pls. XXXIX-b.

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the hair, on the forehead they are partly placed under it, thus, hiding a part of the fillets below their hair. One can also see that the knot, at the bottom, is surrounded with a string of big gems and is covered with a network of pearls. Another style is seen in the case of a female attendant depicted in the panel[218] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka.' She has tied a fillet, from one ear to the other, on the forehead and attached another fillet to it which goes back along the line of her hair-parting.

In literature the word *ushṇīṣa*—meaning a turban—occurs as early as in the Vedic period.[219] But actually, *uṣḥniṣa* means that which wards off heat, (*ūshṇam īshate hinasti iti*).[220] In a trpoical country like India a turban is an inevitable appendage of the dress. In the *Nidānakathā*[221] we get a graphic description of how *Śakra* (Lord Indra of Hindu muythology) tied the *ushṇīṣa* on prince Siddhārtha's head. At several places the *Jātakas* speak of the usage of turban (of golden cloth).[222] Vidūra-paṇḍita alludes to different types of turbans for various social classes and signifying various offices.[223]

Kālidāsa refers to the term *veshṭana*, which suggests a mode of tying the turban. This type of turban is generally wrapped or coiled round the head (*veshṭyate anena iti veshṭanam*).[224] Ornamented golden strips, called *paṭṭabandhas*, were at times arranged on the turbans.[225] In the *Kādambarī*,[226] various colours of turbans, to be worn by the lovers, are spoken of. In Harsha's *Nāgānanda*,[227] the turban is extolled as one of the emblems of royalty. In the *Harṣacarita*[228] turbans having artistically arranged big knots in the centres, are mentioned.

In art the representation of turbans is profuse. The commonest type of the depicted head-dress is the turban and, of a variety which is wound round the head in curved tiers: it is tied in such a way that a ball of cloth forms a sort of crest in the front. This fashion of wearing the turban was extremely common in the early period.

218 Longhurst *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX-b.

219 *Ushnīshine giricarāya kuluñcānāṁ pataye namaḥ, Rudradhyāya*, quoted by Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 104, footnote 1.

220 Apte's *Dictionary*. See *ushnīsha*. In the later work *Sūsrita Saṁhitā*, the necessity of the turban to protect the head from the sun and rain is stressed (*Suśrutā Saṁhith Nidāna Sthāna*, ch. 24.)

221 Quoted from Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

222 *Jātaka*, V, No. 532, p, 170.

223 *Ibid.*, VI, No. 545, p, 142; V, No. 532, p. 170.

224 *Raghuvaṁśa*, viii, 12. At Bhārhut and in the Gandhāra Art, mode of tying the turban is clearly sculptured (Barua, *op. cit.*, Book III, XXII, 17C, Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 62, fig. 90).

225 *Ragh.*, xviii, 44.

226 *Kādambarī*, p. 118.

227 *Nāgānanda*, Act. i.

228 *Harṣacarita*, p. 109.

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It is amply sculptured in the Suṇga[229] Sātavāhāna[230] Kushāna[231] and Gandhāra[232] art. Even to this day and in many parts of India, particularly, in the villages of Maharashtra and Pañjab the turban is worn in a similar way; but the spherical protrusion is now seen replaced by a fanshaped one: the tiara may only be a copy of this in metal. This development of turban into a tiara is clearly traceable at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[233] The spherical protrusion of the turban is replaced first by a circular plaque (probably of metal) and is then evolved into a tiara which in character and composition is not very different from its prototypes. The spherical protrusion of the turban which is a common feature at Sanchi, Bharhut and in the early sculptures of Amaravati becomes rare in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. A complete replacement of circular plaques (probably of metal) can be best seen in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

229 Barua, *op. cit.*, Book III, pl. LVII, 62, LVIII, 63-64; XIV-10c, XIV-10, XX-16, XXII-17b, 17d; XXII-17c, XXX-23, XXXV-26, XXXVII, 22, XXXVIII, 33, XLI, 37; XLIII-40, XLVII-47, 50 etc. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XVIII, XXIII; XXXIV, XXXV, XXXVI, XLIX etc.

230 Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. V; compare also Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, figs. 1 to 12.

231 Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-b.

232 Marshall, *op. cit.*, figs. 38-39.

233 This development can also be seen at Mathurā. (Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-b; as also at Amarāvatī: see sculptures of second, third periods; classified by Sivaramamurti in his book on Amarāvatī Sculptures.)

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Domestic Vessels and other Household Objects

VESSELS

The potter's art is mainly the result of man's necessity for vessels designed to suit various needs. The metal-worker has copied these pottery shapes in a more permanent material. The vessels depicted in the bas-reliefs are varied, and typologically they include (i) bowls (ii) basins (iii) vases (iv) high-necked vessels or *kūjas* (v) spouted vessels (vi) wine jars (vii) wine cups (viii) ladles (ix) hock-bottles or decanters and (x) pots.

(i) *Bowls*

In the panel[1] illustrating 'episodes in the career of the Buddha,' four kings are shown, each holding a deep bowl (*Fig. X, 1*) in his hands. The bowls have incurved featureless or sharpened rims, straight sides, and rounded bases. In the same panel, a similar bowl is also to be seen in the hands of the Buddha.

Again, in the panel[2] illustrating 'the Buddha's descent from the heaven' and on ornate and inscribed pillars[3] precisely similar bowls are depicted. These deep bowls, presumably used for holding rice soup, can be identified as the *thālika* of the Buddhist literature.[4]

Similar bowls are represented in the sculptures of Bharhut,[5] Amaravati[6] and also in the Gandhāra Art.[7] These too have incurved rims, straight sides, and rounded bases as seen in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The bowls were utilized both by

1 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, L-b.

2 *Ibid.*, pl. XI-d.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. X-b and *IAR*, 1955-56. pl. XXXIX-A.

4 *Vinaya texts*, 11, p. 51, VI, 12, 1. Interesting information about the equipment of the Buddist monk is available in *Mahāvaṁsa* and *Cullavagga*. The equipment of the monks (*parikkhara* or *parishkara* in SKT) consists of an alms bowl, *patta* or *pātra*, girdle, rayon (*rasi*), needle (*Sūci*) and sprinkler (*parisravaṇa* or *parissavaṇa*).

5 Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. XCI-138, 140.

6 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 26; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, 2, XVI-2.

7 Herold Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 25, 93, 101, 115, 123, 163, 184, 189, 389, 422.

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the *gṛhasthas* (house-holders) and the ascetics as is evident from the sculptures. This fact is amply testified by the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā,[8] where innumerable bowls of this kind have been unearthed both from secular and monastic structures. Besides, the early and contemporary historical sites like Amaravati,[9] Kondapur,[10] Salihundam,[11] Yelleswaram,[12] etc., have yielded bowls of similar kind.

(ii) *Basins*

A basin is represented in the panel illustrating 'the lady Amarā and the four wise men.' It has an everted rim, straight sides, and a flattish base. It is held by a female attendant. This may represent the *kuṇḍā* mentioned in the Jaina literature.[13] This round shaped vessel is smaller, thicker, and shallow. It is still in use in both the north and south India and is known as *kuṇḍā* or *konrā* (a thick basin).[14]

(iii) *Vases*

Two flower vases are depicted at the entrance of a decorated Āndhra *stūpa*.[15] They have excurved rims, long vertical necks and bulbous bodies with pedestal bases. These flower vases may well indicate the *piṇḍalaga* or *pupphacchajjīya* (*puṣpachādika*) mentioned in Jaina literature.[16]

(iv) *Kūjas*

Kūjas represented in the sculptures are of three kinds, namely, those with cylindrical, ovoidal, and globural bodies. They were presumably meant for carrying water for drinking purposes or were used as wine jars :

(a) *Kūjas with cylindrical bodies*

A *kūjā* or a water jar of this kind is to be seen on an ornate pillar[17] from the palace site. The *kujā* has a wide mouth, a high vertical neck, and cylindrical body with a flat base (*Fig. X, 2*).

(b) *Kūjas with globular bodies*

This type of *kūjā* is found in the panel[18] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka : it

8 *IAR*, 1954-60.
9 *Ibid.*, 1962-63, pl. 2,
10 Compare the specimens displayed in the Kondapur Museum.
11 Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, fig. 20, 62, 63, 72. etc.
12 A. Wahid Khan, *A Monograph on Yeleswaram Excavations*, Hydrabad, p. 32.
13 Deo, S.B., 'Pots and utensils from Jaina literature', *BDCRI*, vol. XIV, No. 1, P. 39.
14 Dobbs, H.R.C., 'The Potteries and Glass Industries of the North-west provinces and Oudh', *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, vol. VII, Nos. 57-60, p. 1.
15 Longhurst, *op., cit.*, pl. XI-b.
16 Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
17 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. LV.
18 Longhurst, pl. XLV-a.

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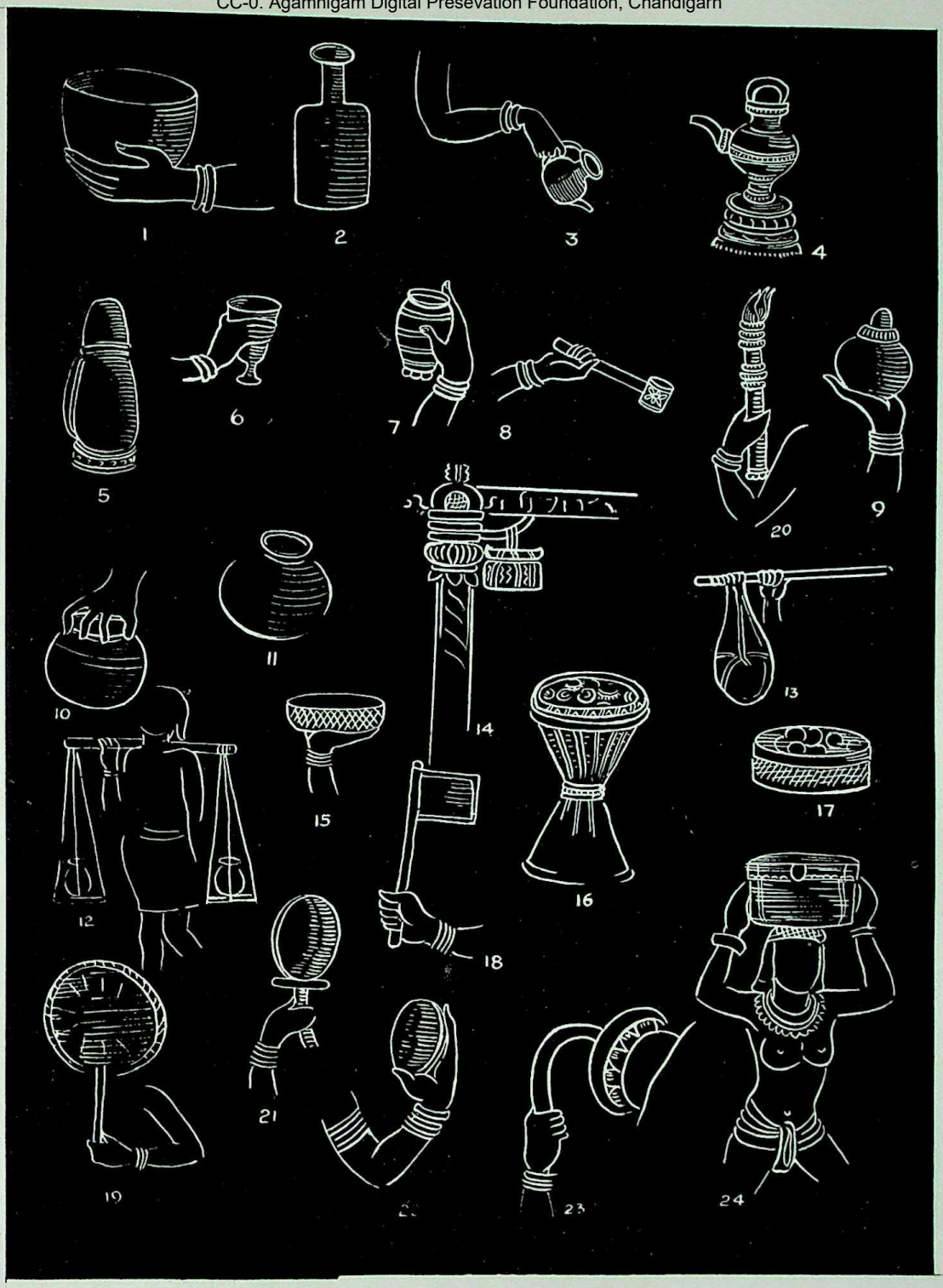

Fig. X Domestic Vessels and Other Household Objects

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has a wide mouth, high vertical neck, globural body and a flattish base. This is exactly similar to the above type except in the shape of its profile. Again, in the same panel, it is seen represented twice as being carried in a 'pingo', (*vihaṅgikā*).[19] It is interesting to note that similar practice of carrying water pot or *kūjas*, on shoulder, by means of a wooden rod from whose ends are suspended two stringnets is prevalent even today. This is a common sight in many parts of India and particularly in the south where it is locally known as '*kāvaḍi*' in Telugu language and '*kāvaḍ*' in Marathi, and '*benghi*' in Hindi.

(c) *Kūjas with tapering bodies*

A *kūjā* of this type occurs on an *āyaka* cornice stone[20] from *Stūpa* No. 6. The *kūjā* has a wide mouth, long vertical neck, tapering body, and a flat base. The body is tapering towards the base. This *kūjā* is akin to the one mentioned above except for the profile. The utility of this is evidently the same as that of the above ones.

This type of vessels had, at times, cups as lids as can be known from the panel[21] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka. A *kūjā* with a cup kept over it in an inverted position and serving as lid is seen under the *āsandī* type of furniture on which the dying Māndhātu is lying. The *kūjā* reveals tapering sides and a flat base. The long neck of the *kūjā* can also be made out on close observation. The cup, a *caṣaka*[22] kept over the *kūjā* with its wide mouth and pedestal base very much resembles the Roman cups.[23,24]

The *kūjās* depicted in the reliefs were used either for carrying drinking water or wine and may be identified as *Sārka*,[25] and may be, in all probability, equated with the Persian '*surahi*.' It is noteworthy that even today the *surahis* or *kūjās* are still in use in many parts of India.[26]

In early Indian art depictions of *kūjās* are aplenty. The specimens found in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā are also to be seen in the sculptures of Sanchi,[27] Amaravati,[28] etc.; and it is in the Gandhāra Art[29] that they become more popular as seen from their frequent sculptural depictions there.

19 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 51. This item is dealt with separately.

20 *Ibid*. pl, XXVII-c.

21 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-b.

22 Deo, *op. cit.*, vol. XIV, No. 1, p. 39.

23 cf. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, P. 685, fig. 10.

24 Krishna Murthy, K., 'The Domestic art delineated in the Gandhara Reliefs,' Puratattva, No. 7, 1794, P. 98.

25 Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.

26 Dobbs, *op, cit.*, p. 1.

27 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XL, XXIX

28 Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-2.

29 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, Figs 288, 289 to 291, 299, 304, 312.

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Common and wide spread use of this type of vessels is amply attested by the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Innumerable *kūjās* or sprinklers are said to have been recovered both from secular and religious sites. Similarly, they are found in large numbers in western India and the Deccan and are ascribable to 1st and 3rd centuries A.D. This pottery is technically known as the 'Red Polished Ware' and is said to be the Indian imitation of the Roman 'Samian Ware'.[30] It is of fine fabric with thin section and has a polished surface. It is interesting to note that the 'Samian Ware' is also available at Amaravati.[31]

(v) *Spouted vessels*

A spouted vessel is depicted in the panel[32] illustrating 'the offering of food to the Buddha after enlightenment.' It is shown in the hands of Sujātā. It has a wide mouth, short neck, and a bulbous body. A spout is luted to the body. A handle is also provided in order to facilitate hold : it is luted to the rim and the body (*Fig. X, 3*). At times, these spouted vessels were also decorated as seen in the case of the one represented in the panel[33] illustrating 'the casting of the horoscope.' The exterior of the body is decorated with oblique slashes and incised grooves. The spout is also seen decorated with multiple bands. In this case, the spouted vessel is exactly similar to those described above except for its broad base.

Sometimes, the spouted vessels are seen with their handles luted on the top instead of on the side as seen hitherto. Thus the panel[34] illustrating 'the Buddha's nativity' depicts a spouted vessel of this kind. The spouted vessel has a bulbous body with a spout luted to it. A handle is to be seen on the top. A row of nail-tipped pattern can be seen around the body of the spouted vessel. One noteworthy feature of this spouted vessel is that its spout resembles an elephant's trunk; even the tusk of the elephant is clearly indicated. It is kept on a *morā* which indicates the importance attached to the vessel. A similar spouted vessel, kept on a *morā*, comes from the panel[35] illustrating 'the nativity and the seven steps (*Fig. X, 4*).

These spouted vessels, with handles on the side, may represent the *Bhingāra*[36] (*Skt : Bhṛiṅgāra*) of the Jaina literature or the *Bhinkāra*[37] of the Buddhist texts. It was generally made of costly metal; and the golden ones were known as *sovaṇṇamaya bhinkāra*. The one noticed in the hands of Sujātā depicted in our sculpture[38] may be

30 B. Subba Rao, *Baroda Through the Ages* (Baroda 1935) pp. 56ff.

31 Vase of Samian ware is presently exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh.

32 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-b; cf. Auboyer, J. 'Ancient Indian Ivories from Begram, Afghanistan,' *JISOA*, vol. XIV, pl. IX, Nos. 66. 69.

33 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a.

34 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV; cf. Auboyer, *JISOA*, XVI, pl. IX, 67.

35 Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XXVIII.

36 Deo, *op. cit.*, vol. XIV, no. 1; p.40; the *Bhinga* or *Bhṛingāra* or *ka*, or *ga* (*bhrngāra*) explained as *Jhari*, might have been a spouted vessel as suggested by Deo (p. 40).

37 *Vinaya Texts*, i, p. 143 *Mahāvagga*, i, 22, 18.

38 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-b; cf. Amarāvati, pl. XXV.

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such a one. The spouted vessels with handles luted on the top may be identified as the *kamaṇḍalas*,[39] which are still being used by the ascetics or *fakirs* of India. The *kamaṇḍalas*[40] used by the Jaina monks and the *Dhammakarakas*[41] used by the Buddhist monks probably were of this type.

In art depiction of the spouted vessels with handles, either on the side or on the top, is in profusion and these appear in the early sculptures of Sanchi,[42] Bharhut,[43] Amaravati,[44] Mathura[45] and in the Gandhāra art.[46] The general form of this spouted vessel is maintained throughout the centuries and it can be seen in the present day specimens. This sculptural delineation of the spouted vessels is amply testified by the excavations conducted at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. This utilitarian device is also noticed at several ancient historical sites.

(vi) *Wine Jars*

A wine jar with elongated globular body and a round base (*Fig. X, 5*) is represented in the panel[47] illustrating 'a bearded figure of Dionysus.' The wine jar has a long handle luted to the rim and the lower portion of the body. A cup is also seen kept over it in an inverted position to serve as a lid. The panel represents a figure, upto the waist and, holding a drinking horn (*Gr. Rhyton*) in his left hand. At his side is seen this jar. The very active sea-borne trade carried on between the Roman empire and south India during the 1st-2nd century A.D., may account for the presence of this figure of Dionysus which was evidently copied from some classical example. If this presumption is correct the jar is seen at his side has the possibility of being a wine jar, presumably an *amphora*. It is interesting to note that *amphorae* are reported to have been found during the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, and one can see, on comparison, the close similarity between the handle of the jar represented in the sculpture and that found in the excavations.[48]

39 These spouted vessels have the appearance of the modern Tea-kettle,

40 Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

41 *Cullavagga*, V, 3, 1 and VI, 21, 3 cf. also *Mahāvaṁsa*, (ed. Geiger), p. 90; *Karaka*, *Karakarikā* and *Karakari* (Sanskṛit), *Harṣacarita*, p. 156 are the same. See Sivaramamurti *op. cit.*, p. 142, footnote 1.

42 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XXIII; XL, XLIII.

43 Barua, *op, cit.*, Book III, pls. XXVI-35, XLV-45, XCI-ILIU. Also see L. Bachhofer, '*Early Indian Sculpture*', I (Paris, 1929), pl. 30.

44 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, figs. 18, 19, 22; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XVI-6

45 Vogel, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-a; see also Auboyer, *JISOA*, XIV, pl. IX. 66, 67, 68.

46 Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 6, 114, 35, 85, 118, 25.

47 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. X-d; also see Kern's Institute *: Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeo logy* Leyden, 1927, vol. 2, p. 14 and plate VI-a; cf. fig. 20-23 in Scyfferts, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

48 R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh and Krishnadeva, 'Arikamedu; an Indo-Roman Trading-station on the East Coast of India,' *AI*, No. 2, p. 41. *The amphora* ware has been introduced into India in the middle of first century A.D. as noticed at Arikamedu, and continued to exist even after the Arretine ware, an other imported ware from the Mediterranian coast.

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In Buddhist texts[49] *Bhāṇḍas* large vessels for storing wine, are spoken of. In the *Mahāvagga* and the *Arthaśāstra* terms like *Surābhāṇḍa* or *madhucāti* for wine jars and *pānapātra* and *caṣaka* for wine cups are referred.[50] The wine jar, with a cup over it, as depicted in the panel may represent one such *surābhāṇḍa* or *madhucāti* with the *caṣaka for lid.*

Another example of a wine jar is to be seen on a vertical slab[51] illustrating *mithuna* figures. It has a globular body tapering towards the base, a constricted mouth, and a round base. Presumably, because of its round base, a small stand known as a *pātra maṇḍala or a pātra dhāraka*[52] is provided. Such stands or rests are commonly seen even to this day used for huge pots to secure them in position. Sometimes these water jars were also decorated on their exterior with oblique slashes, finger tipped patterns and diamond like designs[53]

(vii) *Wine cups*

A wine cup is represented in the panel[54] illustrating 'prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden.' A female attendant is shown holding it. It has an internally chamferred rim and a pedestal base (*Fig. X, 6*).

In the same panel, *mithunas* are illustrated. Of them, the male is shown holding a wine cup. It has an excurved rim, vertical neck, bulged body and a pedestal base. It differs in shape from the one noticed above.

In the panel[55] illustrating 'the transfer of relics,' a different type of wine-cup is met with. It has a wide mouth, a flattened rim, tapering sides and a button base. It has a decoration of bands on the exterior (*Fig. X, 7*). In some cases, these wine bowls had wide mouths and pedestal bases with long stems.[56] They differ from the others due to their long stems.

In yet another panel[57] illustrating the figure of Dionysus, a different type of wine-cup is depicted. It has a wide mouth, clyindrical sides, and a flat base. It resembles the modern mug.

These wine cups can be identified as the *caṣagas* (*caṣakas*) or *pānapātras*. Such wine cups, in large quantities, have been picked up from stratified digs at a number of ancient north Indian sites and from the levels of Suṇga and Kushāṇa periods[58] and at

49 *Cullavagga*, V, 3, 1 and VI, 21, 3.

50 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

51 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XL.

52 *Vinaya Texts*, 111, p. 82. V, 9, 2; 111, p. 85 V, 9, 4; cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 24.

53 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-b

54 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-a.

55 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-b.

56 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII-a.

57 *Ibid.*, pl. X-d.

58 Y. D. Sharma, "Exploration of Historical Sites", *AI*, No. 9, 1953, fig. 6. 5.

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Begram in Afghanistan.[59] Similarly, historical sites like Kondapur, Amaravati etc., have also yielded similar cups from the levels datable to early centuries of the Christian era.

In art, depiction of the wine cups is abundant. They appear in Suṇga,[60] Sātavāhana[61] Kushāṇa and Gandhāra[62] art.

(a) *Cups used as lids*

At times the drinking cups were utilized as lids. Thus the panel[63] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka, an inscribed frieze,[64] an ornate pillar[65] etc., reveal jars, *kūjas* etc., with cups as lids. However, the cups depicted in these cases in no way differ from those described above. Only in a few cases, small cups[66] with round base are seen used as lids.

(viii) *Ladles*

A solitary example of a ladle comes from the panel illustrating 'Buddha Dīpaṅkara's prediction regarding Gautama Buddha.' A male is shown holding a ladle before the Buddha.' The ladle consists of a deep circular receptacle to which a handle is attached (*Fig. X, 8*). The receptacle contains geometrical decoration on its exterior. The ladle shows close similarity to the one depicted in the Goli sculpture illustrating[67] 'Sujātā feeding the *Bodhisattva.*' The ladles are known as *dāruhastakas*[68] as their handles are of wood. In Jaina and the Buddhist texts ladles are mentioned.[69]

Ladles are, however, rare at ancient Indian sites. The silver ladle used for ceremonial purpose discovered from Rupar and datable to the Kushan period is

59 J. Auboyer, 'Ancient Indian Ivories from Begram, Afghaistan,' *JISOA*, vol. XIV (1948), pl. IX, no. 65, 69. The shapes are identical with those found in Ajanta cave paintings : cf. Yazdani, *Ajanta.* I, (Oxford, 1939), XXVII, XXXIX-a; II, XI. Codrington in his 'The Culture of Medieval India as illustrated by Ajanta Frescoes', *IA.*, Aug-Step. 1930, remarks that the cups at Ajanta are of Mediterranean or Iranian origin. He reminds the import of wine in India from Rome.

60 Barua, *op. cit.*, XXXVI-30.

61 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 20; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XVI-2.

62 Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 341.

63 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-A

64 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

65 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. LV.

66 In North India a small vessel called *lutkā* (probably lota of South India) is still being used- (Dobbs, *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, vol. VII. Nos. 57-60, p. 1.)

67 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), pl. VIII-c.

68 *Amara*; p. 207; A term '*Doa*' in Jaina literature denotes a wooden ladle used for serving vegetables or any other preparation of grams. Its exact counterparts in Marathi in the *Deva* and the Gujarathi *Doyo* which still serves the same purpose. (Deo. *op.* cit., p. 36).

69 *Ibid.*, p. 39; cf. Gujarati word *Kadachi*, a spoon with a long handle and deep bowl, also, *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 290, VIII, 5, 2. we get a word *Kaṭaccus* to mean ladles or spoons.

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noteworthy.[70] Probably the ladle represented in the above sculpture also had a similar function.

(ix) *Hock-bottles or decanters*

A small vessel, with spheroidal body with a stopper and a round base (*Fig. X, 9*), comes from the panel[71] illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka. A female attendant is shown holding it. This coconut shaped vessel may be a hock-bottle or a decanter. Parallel examples of this can be seen in the wood cuts numbered 116 to 119 in Fergusson's *"Tree and Serpent Worship."*[72] Another example of this specimen is found in the panel[73] illustrating the Dighīti Kosala Jātaka. (Pl. XX).

(x) *Pots*

The reliefs depict two kinds of pots, namely, (a) miniature pots, and (b) huge storage pots. The miniature pots were the vessels, possibly used for taking water or any other liquids from the bigger receptacles or for pouring water in small quantities. The huge storage pots, as their name indicates, might have been used for storage.

(a) *Miniature pots*

A miniature pot with externally thickened rim, spherical body, and round base is illustrated in the panel[74] depicting the Mahāpaduma Jātaka. A male is shown holding it in his left hand.

In another panel[75] illustrating the plain Andhra *Stūpa* two devotees are shown and each has a miniature pot in his hand. One of them is pouring water with it around the *Bodhi* tree, while the other is holding it in his left hand. The miniature pots are having externally thickened rims, short necks bulbous bodies and round bases (*Fig. X, 10*). Similar pots, used for pouring water around the *Bodhi* tree, are also met with in the sculptures of Amaravati.[76]

These miniature pots may be the *paribhojanīya ghaṭas* mentioned in the Vinaya texts.[77] The sculptural representation of these in early Indian art is abundant and

70 Y.D. Sharma, "Past patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar", *Lalit Kala*, No. 1-2, 1956, p. 127, P. J.

71 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-a.

72 Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

73 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-a.

74 *Ibid.*, pl, XLV-b.

75 *Ibid.*, pl. XI-a.

76 Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI, fig. 3.

77 *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 292, VIII, 5, 3; They resemble the modern brass veseel called "*Chembu*" prevalent to this day in Andhra Pradesh and other states of South India.

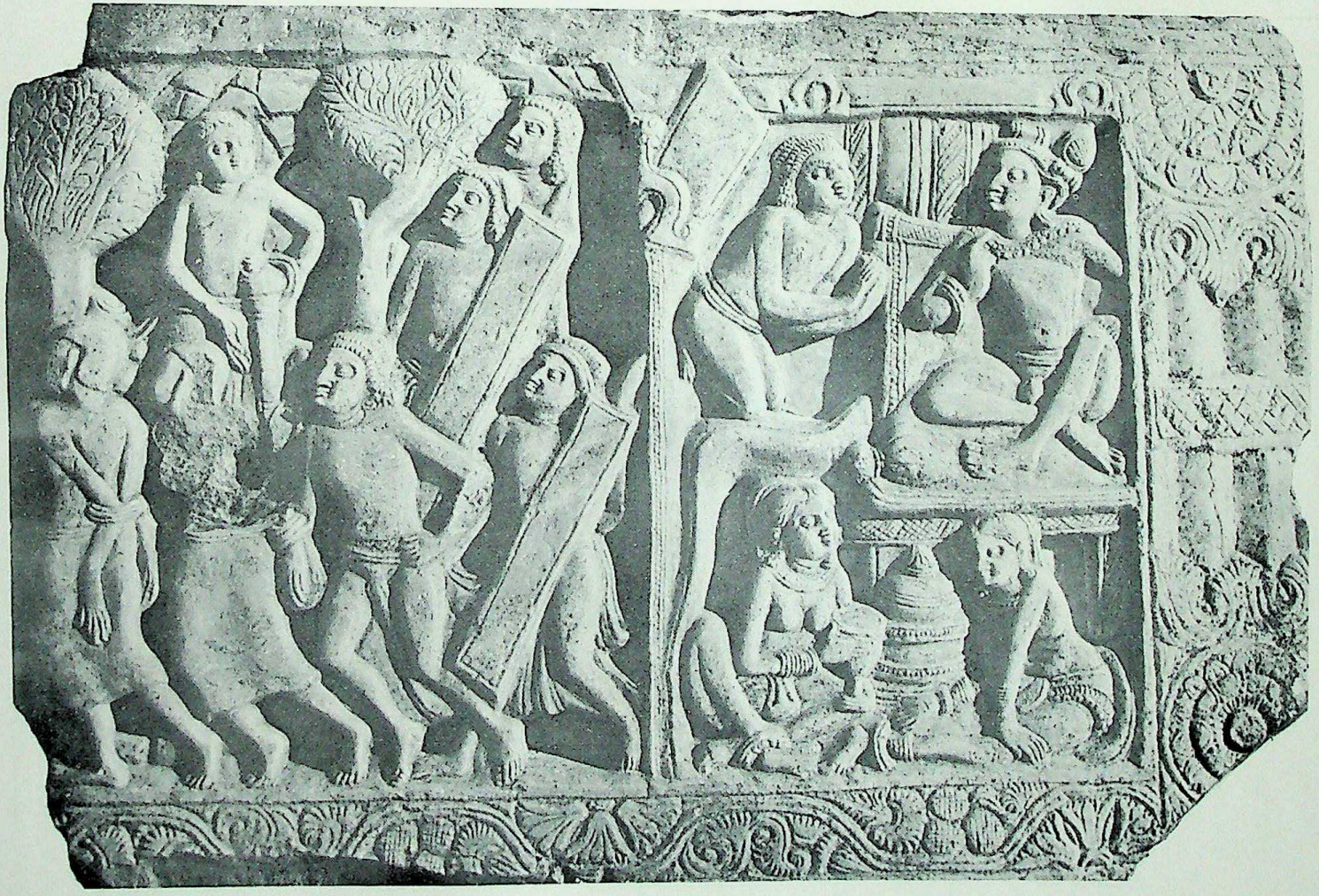

Plate XX Dighitikosala Jataka.

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the sculptures of Bharhut,[78] Sānchī,[79] Amaravati[80] and of Gandhāra[81] show many such miniature pots.

(b) *Huge storage pots*

A water pot with externally thickened rim, bulged body and round base (*Fig. X, 11*) is represented on an ornate pillar.[82] Pots with constricted necks, bulbous bodies and round bases occur in the bas-reliefs[83] from Stūpa No. 2 and on the carvings discovered from sites 5 and 6.[84]

This sculptural evidence of the existence of huge storage pots is amply borne out by the excavations conducted at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Some of the pots recovered from the excavations have everted, externally thickened or horizontally splayed out rims, bulbous or spherical bodies and round bases. At times they are even decorated with an appliqué like finger-tip pattern around the body.[85] These storage pots may represent the *udakamaṇikas* or *pānīyaghaṭas* of the Buddhist Texts.[86]

The storage jars were sometimes provided with lids or coverings (*pidhānas*). Thus an ornate pillar,[87] a relivo panel from *Stupa* 2, and an inscribed frieze,[88] reveal pots with bowls as lids. In some cases, the pots had cups as their lids.[89]

In some other cases the pots were piled one over the other. Thus an ornate pillar[90] from the palace site reveals two pots—one kept over the other—the upper one is a miniature pot while the lower one is a huge water pot.[91]

The sculptural representation of storage pots are plenty, and they appear throughout the early Indian art. The sculptures from Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Mathura and Gandhāra reveal many pots of this kind.[92] However, their general form basically, remains the same.

78 Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. V. 5.

79 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XL.

80 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. LV, fig. 29 & V, fig. 21.

81 Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 12, 16.

82 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-b.

83 *ASIAR*, - 1927-28, pl. LII-b.

84 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-A. 5.

85 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XLIV-a and b, Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII-d.

86 *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 98; *Mahavagga*, VI, 282.

87 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-b.

88 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

89 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, X-a and *ASIAR*, 1927-28, pl. LII-b.

90 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. LV.

91 Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 41. In Jaina literature reference is made to pots kept one over the other. It is called *uttarivindi* or *uttivadā* which according to Deo has an affinity with the Marathi word *utaraṇḍa* denoting the same sense.

92 Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXII-25, LXVI, 79, LX, VII-80 etc. Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pl. XXIV; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV, fig. 3 etc. Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 33, 83, 84.

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(xi) *Contrivance or device for carrying water vessels*

The people of the Ikshvāku period used a kind of device or contrivance (*vihaṇgikā*) for carrying water vessels. The device consisted of a wooden stick (*yashṭi*) at both the terminals of which were suspended nets (*jāla*) made of string. The wooden stick was kept horizontally over the shoulder and two water vessels, kept in the two nets were suspended at the *yashṭi* terminals. In order to give a firm rest for the water vessels the *pattamaṇḍalam* was usually kept or woven in each net.[93]

The bas-reliefs depict many instances of the *vihaṇgikā*. Thus, the panel[94] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka, twice reveals this type of a device: in the lower panel, a male, presumably Lakshmana, is shown carrying a device of this kind. Similarly, in the upper panel, Sita appears with this type of a device. A water vessel is seen kept in the net. (*Fig. X, 12*).

Sometimes this device was also used to carry baskets. This can be known from the panel[95] illustrating the Vessantara Jātaka. Here Madri is shown carrying two baskets in a manner described above.

In another panel[96] illustrating 'the conversion of the Śākya princes,' one of the Sākya princes after conversion is shown carrying a device of this kind. But in this case (*Fig. X, 13*), instead of a rope net a cloth bag is seen tied at the terminals, probable for keeping food articles. Apparently, the converted prince was carrying his food after his begging round. It is interesting to note that even to this day similar devices are being used by the *jogis* or saints of the south India, and such cloth bags are intended by them for carrying food, these cloth-bags are called *iolis* in Andhra Pradesh.

That this mode of carrying water was wide spread is confirmed by their many sculptural depictions at Bharhut,[97] Sanchi[98] etc., the continuation of which can be seen in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

Apart from such a mode of carrying water, the people of the Ikshvāku period were also in the habit of tying the vessels to a poles. Probably these contained liquids semi-liquids like butter-milk, etc. Sometimes these vessels were kept in a net that hung from the ceiling of the house. A panel[99] illustrating 'the life scenes of the Buddha' reveals many instances of pots or baskets, with lids, suspended from the ceiling by means of strings or a net (*Fig. X, 14*). In yet another panel[100] showing

93 Longhurst, calls this device or contrivance as '*pingo*' (p. 51).

94 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a.

95 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII-D. At present the snake-charmers are generally seen carrying the snake baskets in similar manner.

96 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls XIX-b.

97 Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. LXXIII-95, LXXVI-99, LXXX-111, XCIII-137. Cf. Joshi, *op. cit.*, figs. 357 358, 362.

98 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pl. LII, LV.

99 Cf. Barua, *op., cit.*, pl. LXXXVIII-131.

100 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-d.

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'conversion of the Sākya princes, two bags, probably of cloth and containing food articles, are seen hung from two wooden poles tied together as shown in the sculpture. These wooden poles apparently were tied to the branches of the tree in order to keep it out of reach of the animals. Such a practice is still prevalent among the labour classes while they are at work in the fields. This practice is prevalent in, most parts of India and it goes by the name of *utti* in Andhara Pradesh, *Uri* in Madras, *shinkāḷa* in Maharashtra State and by the name of *sikāhar* in north India.

OTHER HOUSE-HOLD OBJECTS

(i) *Baskets*

Next to the described vessels, baskets were the necessary household objects. The bas-reliefs represent them copiously, and they include small or large baskets for carrying flowers and eatable and trays of different sizes for keeping fruits, victuals. turbans etc., All the basket work was either plaited or coiled. Of them, the baskets made with the plaited technique appear to have been more popular as is evident due to their frequent depiction in the reliefs.

(a) *Small baskets*

Small baskets, invariably circular in shape and containing either flowers or fruits, occur in the reliefs. They are seen plaited in chequered, criss-cross. or palm-leaf, designs and of these the chequered or criss-cross design is frequently depicted. Thus, the panels illustrating 'the transport of the relics,'[101] 'the death of the Buddha,'[102] and an ornate pillar,[103]—all reveal examples of small baskets made by plaited technique into chequered or criss-cross pattern. The baskets have incurved rims, deep profiles, round bases and they have the appearance of a round based, straight sided, bowl of clay.

In another panel,[104] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka, a small basket containing fruits is shown. It has an incurved externally thickened rim and tapering sides with rounded base. The basket is plaited into palm-leaf design.

These small baskets are very much akin to the modern "*butta*"[105] which is still being used for carrying flowers in Andhra Pradesh.

(b) *Large baskets*

Large baskets are generally seen in the reliefs cantaining fruits and invariably they are circular in shape. As it appears from the sculptures, they were plaited with a chequered or a criss-cross pattern. In some cases, close plaiting can also be seen.

101 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-b.
102 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-c.
103 *Ibid.*, pl. IX-b.
104 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX-b.
105 *Butta* is a Telugu word.

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Thus, the panels, illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka,[106] 'Daśaratha Jātaka,'[107] and Māndhātu Jātaka,[108] reveal fruit baskets. These baskets have circular mouths, vertical sides, and flat bases. They are made with the plaited technique and have chequered or criss-cross designs (*Fig. X, 17.*)

Sometimes, as seen in the case of baskets, close plaiting is met with in the panels revealing 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka,'[109] and the Māndhdātu Jātaka.[110] The baskets are wide mouthed with deep profiles, obviously to accommodate large quantities of fruits.

Another type of basket, with rectangular shape, is seen in the panel[111] illustrating 'Gift of earth.' The basket appears to have been fabricated by the twilled technique. This is the only example of its type available in the sculptures (Pl. XXI).

(c) *Snake baskets*

In the panel revealing the Campeyya Jātaka[112] and in an unidentified panel,[113] snake baskets are represented. The baskets have circular wide mouths, straight sides, and flat bases. Generally, they have lids but in the present cases the lids are absent as the snakes are shown playing in the baskets; probably there was no necessity for the sculptor to depict a lid. Such snake baskets are even now in use with the present day snake-charmers.

That the mat industry was also prevalent in the Ikshvāku period can be known from the panel[114] illustrating 'the Buddha protected by the *nāga* Muchalinda.' In this panel a screen of reeds or rushes fabricated by the twilled technique is represented.

In contemporary art, representations of baskerty are many. In the sculptures of Bharhut,[115] the fruit baskets of bigger sizes resembling those found in our sculptures are depicted several times. In the Amarāvati sculptures,[116] both the small and the big baskets—used for keeping flowers and fruits repectively—get their representations. In the Gandhāra art,[117] the depiction of baskets occurs—at times with lids,—reminds one of the *karaṇḍaka* types. The paintings of Ajanta reveal several such baskets.

106 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX-a.
107 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a.
108 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX-b.
109 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX-a.
110 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX-b.
111 Longhurst, *op, cit.*, pls. XXXV-b.
112 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pls XLIII.
113 Longhurst *op. cit.*, XXIV-C.
114 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-C.
115 Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. LXXVIII-106, LXXXIII-121.
116 Burgess, *op. cit.*, fig. 17, p. 64, XX. 2; XXXVIII, 2, 3,
117 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 174 (Peshawar), 418.

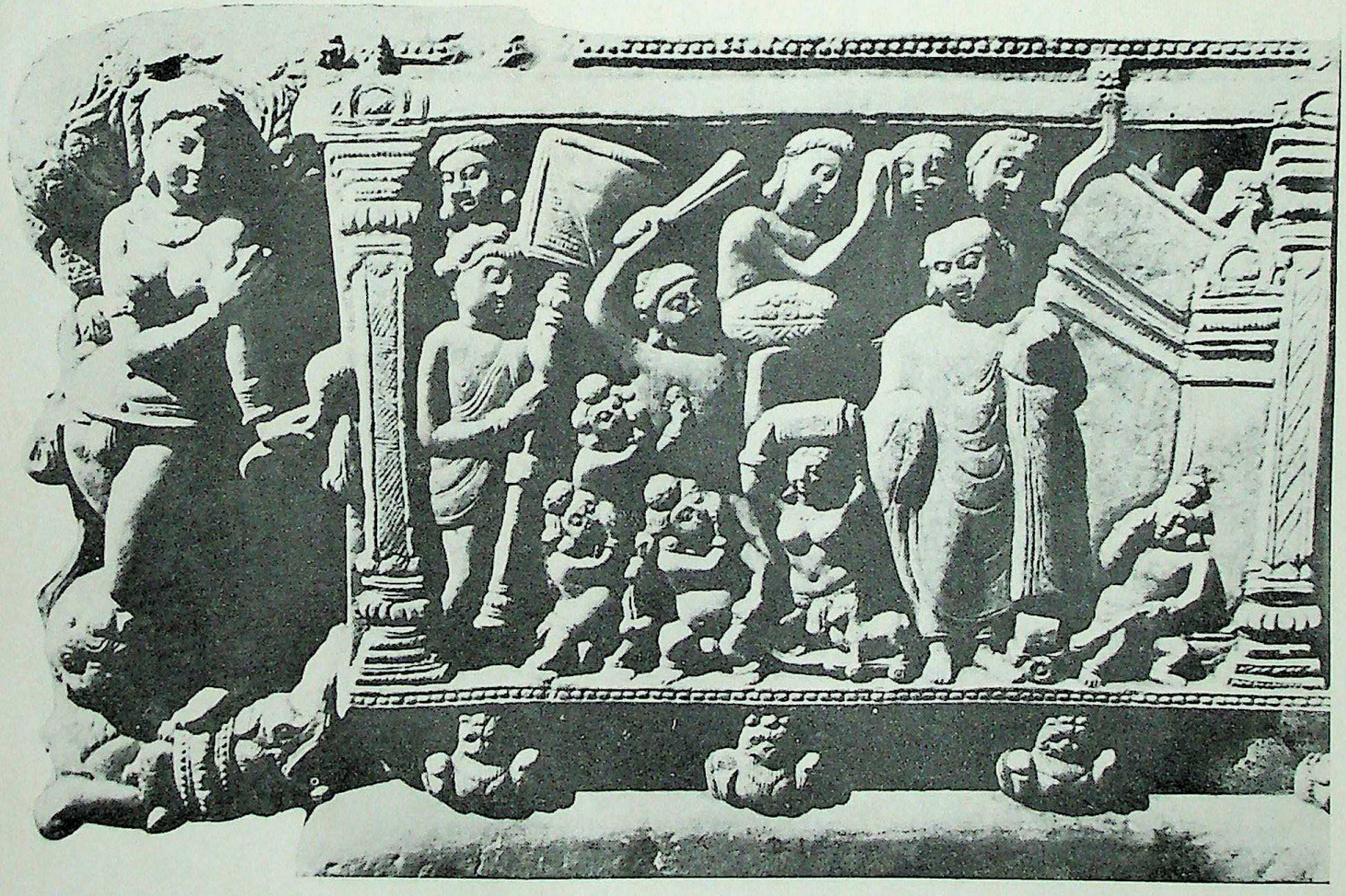

Plate XXI . Gift of Earth

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(ii) *Trays*

Trays of small and large sizes appear in the reliefs. The small trays are seen used for keeping flowers and victuals etc., while the large ones appear as being used for keeping the royal turbans.

(a) *Small trays*

The panels illustrating 'Siddhārtha[118] and the mighty bow' and the Śibi Jātaka[119] reveal small trays of wicker work. The trays are shallow, with straight sides and flat bases. As it would appear from the reliefs, they have chequered or criss-cross designs probably rendered by the plaited technique[120] (*Fig. X, 15.*)

In some cases these small trays were secured further with reeds tied to the rim at intervals. The panel[121] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka reveals two such trays. They have externally thickened rims tied with reeds at intervals. They have flat bases which are presumably plaited into palm-leaf design. The palm-leaf design over the exterior of the trays can be made out distinctly. This palm-leaf design was the most popular design for the basketry work of trays during the Ikshvāku period as is evident from their frequent depictions.[122]

Apart from this plaited technique; in some cases, the furcate coil technique was also used as is evident from some of the small trays revealed in the reliefs[123] (*Fig. X, 16*). This furcate coil technique is a sewing rather than a weaving technique. The stitches of 'V' marks overlaping each other rendered by means of this technique can be seen clearly on the exterior of the trays.

The modern counterparts of these small trays can be seen in the '*sajja*' which is still being used in Andhra Pradesh for keeping flowers and other decorative materials.

(b) *Large trays*

The large trays were generally used for keeping important articles like Gautama's head-dress in a panel or jewelled turbans. These trays are represented thrice in the reliefs. The panel[124] representing 'the Buddha's life scene' shows a large circular or an ovoidal shaped tray with Gautama's headdress kept over it. The tray has an externally thickened rim to which are secured

118 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-a.

119 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-a.

120 Plaited basketry is made by the crossing of one, two or more sets of elements called warp and weft. To effect a chequered pattern, the wefts and warps are made to pass over and under each other singly in the familiar - over-one under-one cheque-board pattern. This includes wattle work, in which the warp stakes are planted in the ground and the weft branches bent in and out between them. - See *Encyclopaedia of Britannica*, vol. 3, p. 178.

121 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII-a.

122 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. V and III:

123 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-a, and XX-a

124 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-B.

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reeds at intervals. The tray appears to have been plaited in chequered or the criss-cross pattern.

Two similar circular or ovoidal shaped trays, but plaited in palm-leaf design (Pl. XVI) occur in the panels[125] illustrating 'the transportation of Gautama's head-dress to heaven.' They are sometimes also secured with knots of reeds at intervals along the rim as seen in the panel.[126] As these trays are shown used only to carry Gantam's turban their special importance is thereby evident. These trays have close similarity to modern "*sibbis*,"[127] that are still being used in Andhra Pradesh, but for different purpose, by the vegetable vendors in the markets.

(iii) *Fans*

The bas-reliefs represent square shaped fans, presumably made of palm-leaf or *uśira* grass (*usirmaya-vījana*) or peacock feathers (*morapañchhamaya-vījana*).[128] They are seen held either by the female attendants or in the amorous couples.[129] Thus the panel illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka reveals a female attendant holding a fan. The fan is square shaped, presumably made of *uśira* grass, and provided with a handle on one side (*Fig. X, 18*). Another example of the square shaped fan comes from the inscribed Slab[130] illustrating a couple.

In early sculptures generally three kinds of fans are seen; namely, (a) fan with a side handle, (b) fan mounted on a slender handle or a pole-fan, and (c) fan with a crescent-like form. In the Amaravati sculptures the square shaped fans (with side handles) and circular or crescent-like fans are represented.[131] Of them, the square shaped fans have close resemblance to those found in our reliefs. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the square shaped fans appear to be the most favoured ones as is evident from their sole depictions. The popularity of these square shaped fans is continued even in the paintings at Ajanta. However, at Ajanta, all the three varieties enumerated above, are present.[132]

(iv) *Umbrellas*

In addition to the existence of royal umbrellas there was also a variety of the humbler umbrellas. The bas-reliefs offer two examples of umbrellas of the humbler variety. Thus the panel[133] illustrating the Vessantara Jātaka reveals an umbrella, of an humbler variety, held by a Brahmin. Owing to its rough representation the details of the umbrella are not clear. However, one can make out its stick (*daṇḍa*) and its

125 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII-a and Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII

126 Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XX-a.

127 *Sibbi* is a Telgu word still in use in Andhra Pradesh.

128 Cullavagga, 5. 22.1

129 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXIX-a; cf Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 34, XLVI, fig. 26; Burgess, *op. cit.*, XVI-6; *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Nos. 61-64 p. 13, figs. 39 (43) 32 (44).

130 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

131 Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, pl. V. fig, 34, XLVI, fig. 2b; XL-2; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pls. XVI-1; XVI-6.

132 *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Nos. 61-64. p. 13; figs. 31 (43), 32 (44).

133 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII-D.

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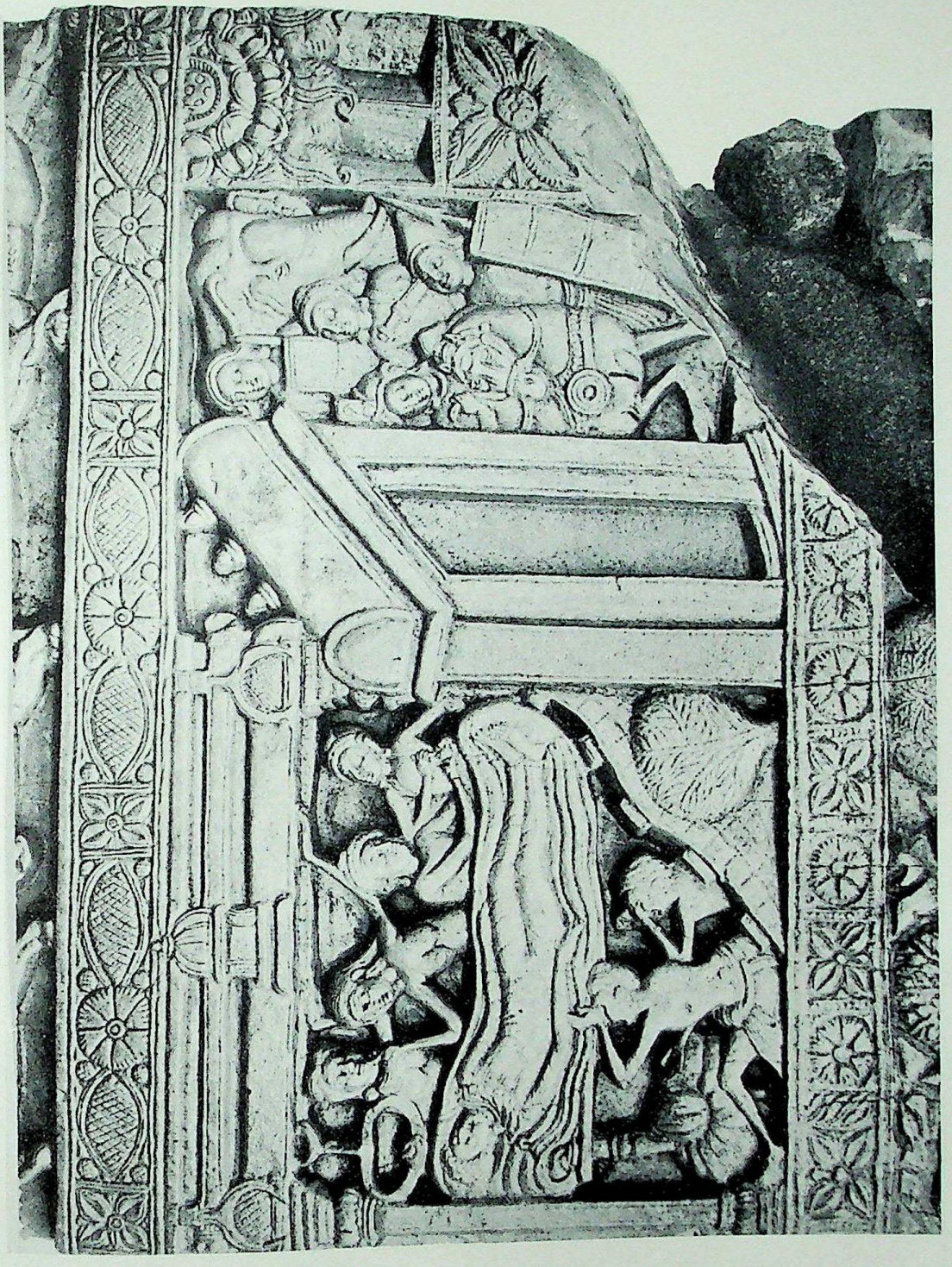

Plate XXII Dead Body Scene

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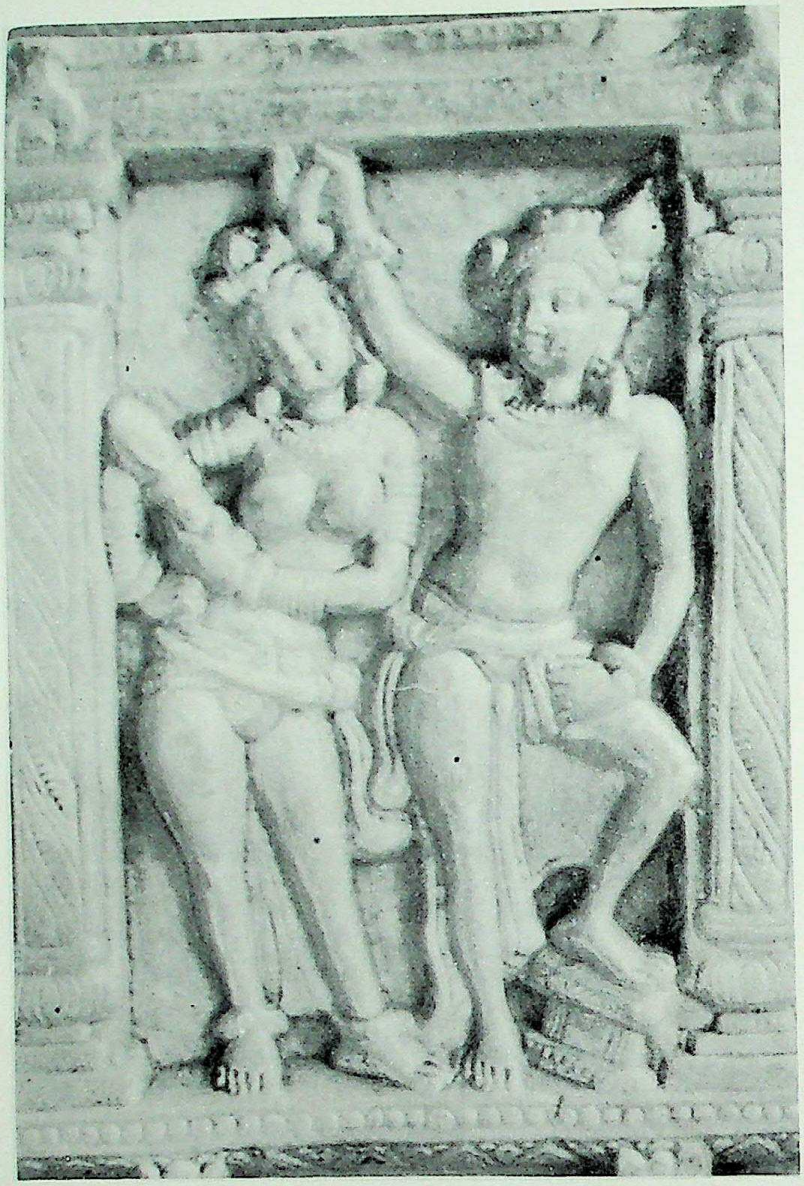

Plate XXIII Mithuna Couple

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top—presumably made of cloth. A parallel example of this variety (held by a brahmin) comes from a contemporary sculpture at Goli also revealing the Vassantara Jātaka.[134]

Another panel,[135] illustrating 'the *Bodhisattva's* descent from the heaven in the form of a white elephant,' reveals a celestial being with an umbrella of the humbler variety. Its stick (*daṇḍa*), ribs or the spokes (*śalākā*), the top, and the thread (*rajju*) by which the top was stitched on the umbrella can be distinctly seen (*Fig. X, 19*). A parallel example of this can be seen, in the hands of a townsman of Rājagṛha, depicted in the Amaravati sculptures.[136]

The Vinaya texts[137] mention two kinds of *chhattas* (sun-shades) which are figured in our reliefs. According to *Bhikkhunī-Vibhaṅga Pācittiya*,[138] the sun-shades of the humbler variety are either white or made of matting or leaves, and the frames are either *maṇḍala-baddha* or *salākā-baddha*.[139]

(v) *Torches : Yaṣṭidīpa(s) or ulkā(s)*

The bas-reliefs invariably represent the torch-bearers (*ulkādhāris*) in the processions. Thus, the panel[140] illustrating 'the renunciation or going forth' reveals a torch-bearer. Since the scene depicts Siddhārtha's *mahābhinishkramaṇa* at night it is quite logical to depict a torch-bearer with a torch in this.

The torch or *yaṣṭidīpa* (*Fig. X, 20*) consist of a piece of wood, at one end of which was probably coiled a piece of cloth, and which was lighted by pouring oil over it. This torch, thus lighted, would keep the light burning till the oil is burnt completely. A similar *ulkādhārī* is seen elsewhere.[141] In this case, the handle *daṇḍa* is also decorated with multiple bands and a row of studs. The *Harṣacarita*[142] mentions similar torches, *yashṭidīpas*. It is interesting to note that such torches, held by men, are a common sight usually in the processions of the temple-cars even today. They are locally known in Andhra Pradesh as the "*kāgadālu*" and the "*maśāla*" in the Maharashtra State.

In a panel, depicting 'the dead body scene' a small lamp (*pramida*) is kept burning near the head of the dead body. The lamp is a small pan made either of clay or of some metal and is placed on a lamp-stand. The lamp-stand is made to hang from the ceiling of the house (Pl. XXII). The practice of keeping a light near

134 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. VI-F.

135 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XIX-b.

136 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, 10, pl. XXV-1-a. At present, umbrellas are given as present to son-in-law by the father-in-law on marriage occasions, and during Kāśīyātrā time. This practice is prevalent in South India even to this day.

137 *Cullavagga*, V. 9. 5, 23, 2, 3.

138 LXXXIV, 2, 1.

139 The words *maṇḍalabaddha* and *Salākābaddha* refer to rits and rings of bamboo forming the framework (Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 96); See *SBE*, XX, p. 314.

140 Longhurst, *op cit.*, pl. XXVIII-c.

141 *Ibid., cit.*, pl. XIX-d.

142 Agrawala, *Harṣacarita*, p. 56; pl. VI. 28.

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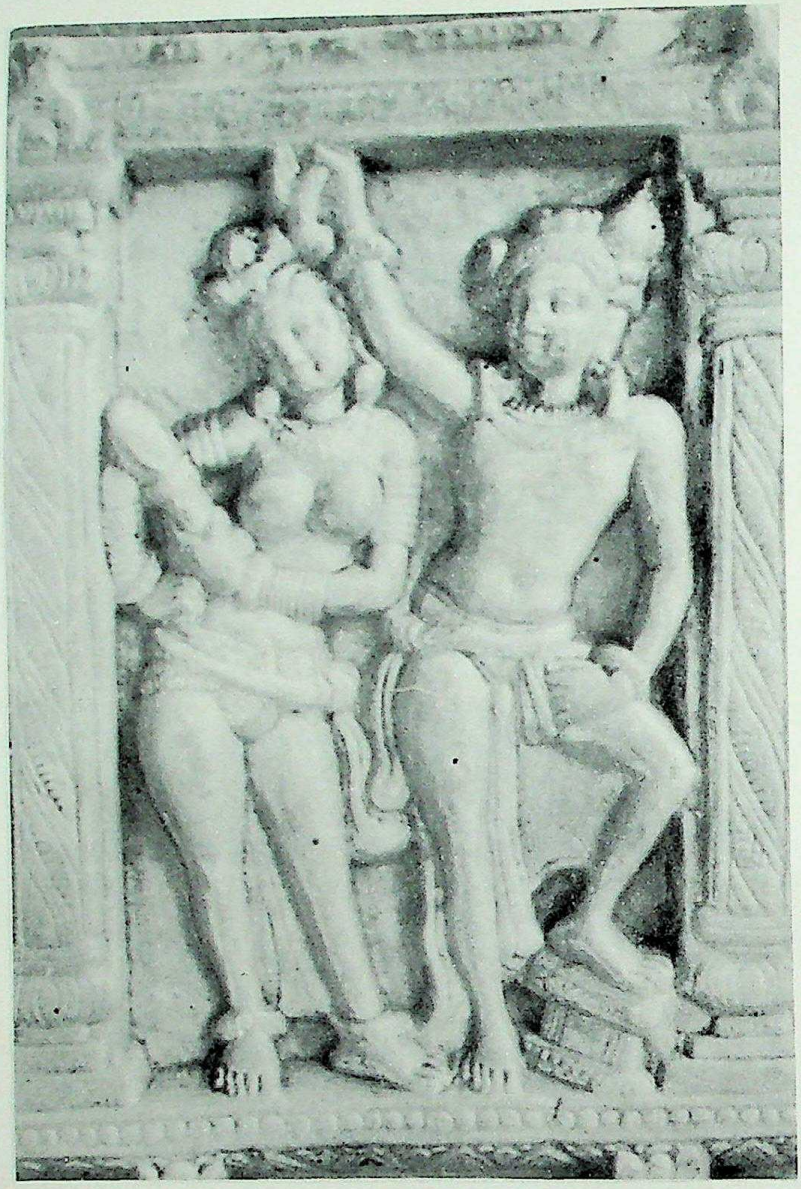

Plate XXIII Mithuna Couple

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138 LXXXIV, 2, 1.

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140 Longhurst, *op cit.*, pl. XXVIII-c.

141 *Ibid., cit.*, pl. XIX-d.

142 Agrawala, *Harṣacarita*, p. 56; pl. VI. 28.

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the head of a dead body is current in many parts of India.

(vi) *Toilet articles*

(a) *Mirrors : mukura(s)*

A lady with a mirror in hand is an oft-repeated theme in the reliefs. Two kinds of mirrors, those with handle and others devoid of it, occur in the reliefs, Of these the mirrors with handles appear to have been more popular as is evident from their frequent sculptural depictions. The mirrors depicted in the reliefs are of circular, oval, or oblong, shape. Their reflectors probably were made of foiled glass or crystal or polished metal plate.

The panel[143] illustrating 'the nativity and seven steps, depicts a *mithuna* couple. The female is shown holding a mirror in her left hand and looking into mirror. The male is seen in the act of adjusting the flower wreath worn by the female : the mirror held by her is round and mounted on a handle, probably, made of wood or ivory (*Fig. X, 21; Pl. XXIII*).

Another mirror, similar to the one above, is held by an amorous lady in the panel[144] illustrating the Śibī Jātaka. The amorous lady is shown holding the mirror in her left hand. The mirror (*mukura*) consists of a single disc with a concave front and a concave back with a knob in the centre. The whole piece is mounted on a handle which has a pedestal base.

A slightly different mirror occurs on an inscribed slab.[145] An amorous lady is shown adjusting her hair with her right hand while holding a mirror in her left. The mirror has an oval shape with a protruded knob at the back. The mirror made to stand on a long slender handle.

In another panel,[146] illustrating 'the Buddha and the Nanda on a visit to heaven,' an amorous lady is shown holding a different kind of mirror in her left hand. The mirror is of oblong shape with a protruded knob at the back. It is mounted on a decorated handle (Pl. XXIV). The Jātakas speak of ornamented ivory handles fixed to the mirrors (*āḍḍāsa dantātharu pacca vekkitaṁ (mukhani)*.[147]

The panel[148] illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow' reveals altogether a different type of mirror. An amorous lady is shown holding a mirror devoid of any handle. It is circular in shape with a protruded portion at the back, probably, to serve as a hold (*Fig. X, 22; Pl. XXIVa*).

It is difficult to judge, from the sculptures, the materials used in making the contemporary mirrors. They were possibly made out of a glass like substance or metal, and subsequently polished and made glossy like the glass. "In ancient times" says

143 Longhurst, *op.cit.*, pl. XXVIII-b; cf. Auboyer, *JOSIA*, vol. XIV, pl. IX, no. 73, 74 and 75; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX. fig. 17.

144 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-a.

145 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

146 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl, XXXV-a; cf. Auboyer, *op. cit.*, XIV, pl. IX, No. 75.

147 *J., V*, p. 302, G. 37.

148 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII-a.

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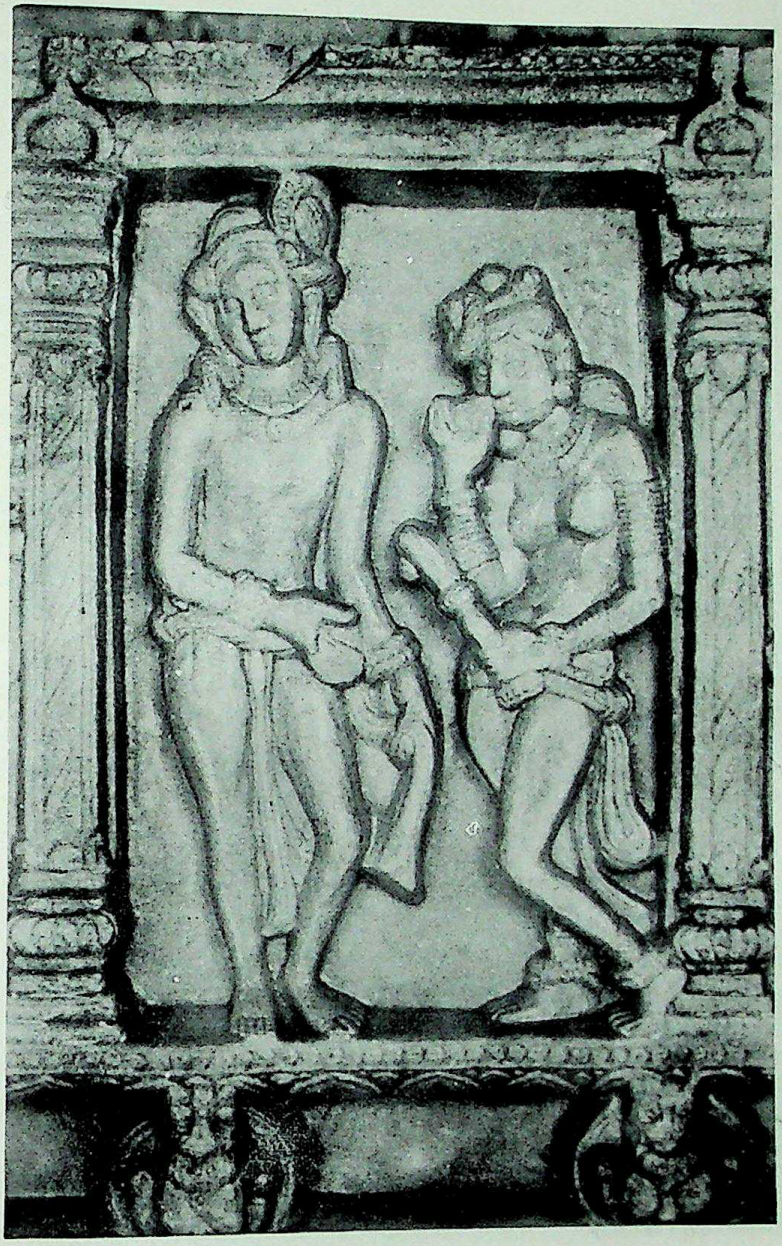

Plate XXIV Mithuna Couple

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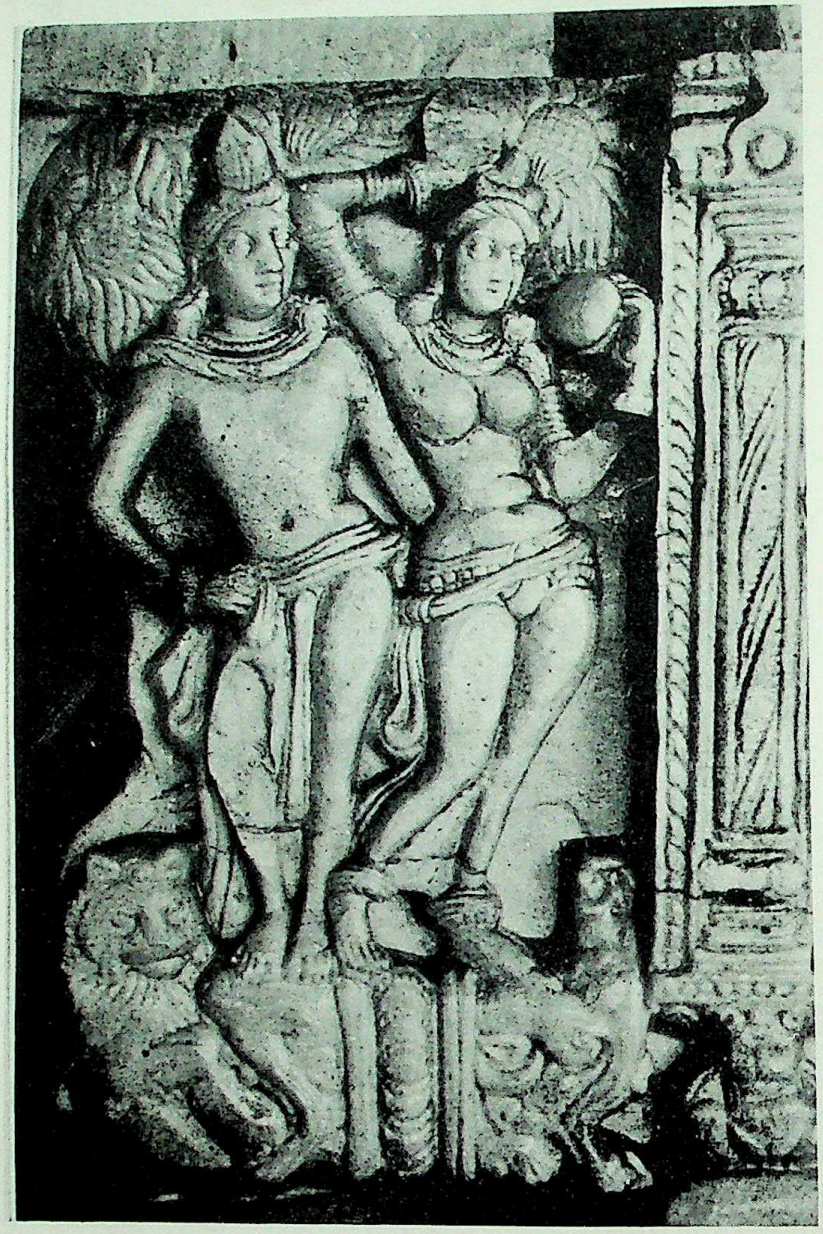

Plate XXIV-A Mithuna Couple

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Gopinath Rao,[149] "when glass was either unknown or was not employed for making mirrors, highly polished metal plates of various designs were utilised to serve as mirrors. It may be remarked incidentally that this old speculum industry has not yet died out in India. In a place called Aramula in Travancore, such mirrors are still manufactured, and the mirrors made by the workmen of this place are so fine that they do not show distortion in reflection."

In early Indian art the depictions of mirrors is in plenty. They occur in Bharhut,[150] Amaravati[151] and Mathura[152] sculptures. All these mirrors, with handles, reveal close similarity to those found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Here the mirrors with handles get frequent sculptural depictions. However, there is a solitary representation of the one without handle. These handled mirrors appear to have been replaced by circular ones during the Gupta period as is evident from their frequent depictions in the Ajanta frescoes.[153]

(b) *The toilet apparatus*

Toilet was a very important item for a *nāgarika* and *vilāsinī*. Apart from the toilet articles like mirrors (*mukuras*) the bas-reliefs also represent curious toilet apparatus that exhibit the high aesthetic sense of the people of the Ikshvāku period.

An unidentified panel reveals a toilet apparatus consisting of two circular discs and a curved handle (*Fig. X, 23*). The small disc is placed on the right temple of a lady by a female attendant who holds it by the handle in her hands. This may suggest, as construed by Naik, that the female attendant is in the act of massaging the lady with the curious instrument which was probably a device of 'beauty-treatment, of those days.

(c) *Razors* : *kṣura(s)*

A razor (*kṣura*) is represented in the relief[154] illustrating 'the admission of the

149 T.A. Gopinath Rao, *The Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1, part 1 (Madras, 1914), p. 12. Seyffert speaking about the ancient Greece and Etrusean mirrors informs that for mirrors ancients used round or oval or square plates of melted and polished metal generally of copper mixed with tin, zinc and other material, often silvered and gilded. In later times they were also made of silver. They were often provided with a decorated handle and ornamented on the back with engravings, mostly of mythological objects. The Etrusean mirrors were remarkably fine in this respect. (p. 395).

150 *ASR*, 1925-26, pl. LVIII.

151 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, fig. 17.

152 *Ibid.*, p. 120. It is reported that in the excavations at Begram in Afghanistan, mirrors with handles datable to 2nd-3rd century A. D. are recovered; vide Auboyer, *JISOA*, XIV, pl. IV, a, d; pl. IX, Nos. 73, to 75.

153 Kde B. Codrington; 'Ancient, Indian Hand-Mirrors', *Man*, XXIX (1929), No. 130, p. 171. In Cave 11 (Victoria and Albert Museum) (I.M. 42-85). Griffith's copy, vol. 1, pl. 33) a woman holds a mirror as does the standing princess in Cave XVII. (I.M. 99-87, vol. 1. pl. 55). It is interesting to note that both kinds of mirrors are still common in Java, some of which are decorated.

154 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-b.

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six Śākya princes and the barber Upālī to the other.' The barber Upālī is shown in the act of shaving the head of one of the six Śākya princes. The razor has a curved terminal. The head of the Śākya prince is being shaved with the razor's edge (*kṣuradhārā*). The razor depicted in the panel has close similarity with the modern ones that are known as "*mangali-kathi*" in Telugū, "*vastarā*" in Marathi and "*ustarā*" in Hindi.[155]

(d) *Jewel Boxes* : *abharaṇa samudgaka(s)*

A box or *samudgaka* is represented in the panel[156] illustrating 'prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden.' A female attendant (*prāsādikā*) is shown carrying a rectangular box on her head. The box has a device in the centre of the lid for lifting it. Probably it may represent a jewel box. Again, precisely a similar box (*Fig. X, 10*) is shown held by a *vāmanikā* portrayed in the panel illustrating 'gift of earth.' The Jātakas[157] mention such boxes, these were generally made of costly materials like ivory etc.

Similar jewel boxes (*ābharaṇa samudgakas*) also occur in the sculptures of Amaravati. In one of the sculptures[158] a woman is shown taking out a necklace and other ornaments from such a box

155 See Visvanath Dinkar Narvane : *Bhāratiya Vyavahār Kosha* (1961, Bombay), p. 12.

156 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-a.

157 *J*, i, no. 92, p. 24; also *Harṣacarita*, pp. 130, 148.

158 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII, fig. 1, pl. IX, fig. 16; Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIX.

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SEVEN

Furniture

Man's craving for comfort has created a host of household articles. Furniture[1] is one among them. In the manufacture of furniture, wood has always been the basic material due to several reasons. It is available wherever conditions have favoured human living. It is easily workable to different decorative designs. It can be joined by many contrivances, namely by nailing, glueing etc. It produces less noise under impact than other materials of equal strength. It is relatively light in weight. It may be easily repaired when broken. It possesses intrinsic beauty in an infinite variety of colour, texture and pattern. It can be worked in many ways to enhance its beauty.

At the same time it has the greatest disadvantage too. It is a perishable material. The hot and damp climate of the country has made its survival for long centuries impossible. The total absence of any piece of furniture from the excavated remains[2] is undoubtedly due to its being fashioned out of wood or similar other perishable material. We have therefore, to depend solely on the plastic representations of furniture.

The furniture depicted in the bas-reliefs[3] is typologically copious and bespeaks highly of the varied culture of the people of the Ikshvāku period. The furniture that credits the royalty for its richness and embellishment or the plainer and of simpler variety for use of the commoners as well is excellently portrayed in stone. As the representations of the commoner's houses are scanty the furniture used by them is very rarely shown. But we often get representations of the royal furniture. Because many

1 American usage limits the word furniture to movable articles equivalent to the French *meuble* or German *mobel* vide Aronson, *The Encyclopeadia of Furniture* (London, 1926); p. 234.

2 However, ancient Egypt has left a fairly complete record of its daily life in the contents as well as the decoration of its tombs, thanks to the custom of supplying the dead with the mundane articles planned to remind the soul of its former association. From this, it is quite probable that the Egyptian inventiveness supplied the shapes and models for most articles of furniture in ancient times. (Aronson, *loc. cit*, p. 132).

3 Krishnamurthy, K., Furniture depicted in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā—Andhra Pradesh, OHRJ, Vol. XII, (1964) No. 2, pp. 79-88.

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of the sculptures depict innumerable palace scenes. The thrones, couches, chairs, stools etc., represented in the sculptures exhibit a high order of artistic expression which bears testimony to an advanced state of sophistication. Especially chairs and stools display a great similarity to the modern ones.

The furniture shown in the reliefs includes (I) Thrones (II) Chairs (III) Wheeled Chairs (IV) seats and *moras* (V) wicker stands (VI) foot-stools or foot-rests and (VII) bed-steads :

THRONES

The reliefs depict a good variety of thrones. "The throne", says Hocart[4] "expresses by physical means the king's moral superiority and it symbolizes a womb of sovereignty (*kshatra*)." Some of the thrones represented in the sculptures are very simple; they were made to accommodate one person; others are decorated and provide space for two or even three persons. Some are so low that they need no foot-stool while some are high enough to necessitate either a foot-stool or a flight of steps. Some thrones have four legs while some have solid low appendages. Of the legged thrones some have pillar shaped or *āmalaka* shaped legs while others have animal shaped supports. Smaller thrones are more like chairs while the larger ones are like the sofas or long benches.

(i) *Small Thrones*

(a) *Throne with a solid lower-structure but devoid of arm-rests*

This variety is illustrated by the Buddha's throne in the panel[5] depicting the conversion of the Sākya princes. Its seat-frame appears square in shape. The ends of the top-bar of the back slightly project out and have curved terminals. The sides of the back are decorated with a row of beads. The solid and square base is carved with a row of oblique lines on the upper and lower cornices while its oblong middle portion contains vertical rows of circlets (*Fig. XI. 1*). A rectangular foot-stool (*pāda-pīṭha*) is put in front of the throne for keeping the foot.

A clear example of this variety of throne is to be seen in an unidentified panel.[6] The seat of the throne is high and so a foot-stool is placed in its front. The sides of its back-rest are decorated with a row of beads. The oblong middle portion of the base is decorated with an ovoidal circle within which is carved a human figure. On either side of this is carved a row of circlets with an arched line giving an appearance of a screw top. The whole design is quite new and interesting. In front of the throne is placed a rectangular foot-stool on which right leg of the king is placed.

4 Hocart, A. M., 'The Throne in Indian Art', *Ceylon Journal of Science*, no. 439, p. 117.

5 Loghurst, *op. cit*, pl. XIX-b; cf. Sivaramamurthi, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-a; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XII; XXXV. In Gandhāra art Buddha is depicted invariably on a throne with solid lower structure which is comparable to Nāgārjunakoṇḍā thrones : vide Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 36, 55, 63, 66 to 68, 69 to 73, 75 to 79, 79, 81, 101, 102, 105, 107, to 109, 115, 126, 127, 163-C.

6 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-b.

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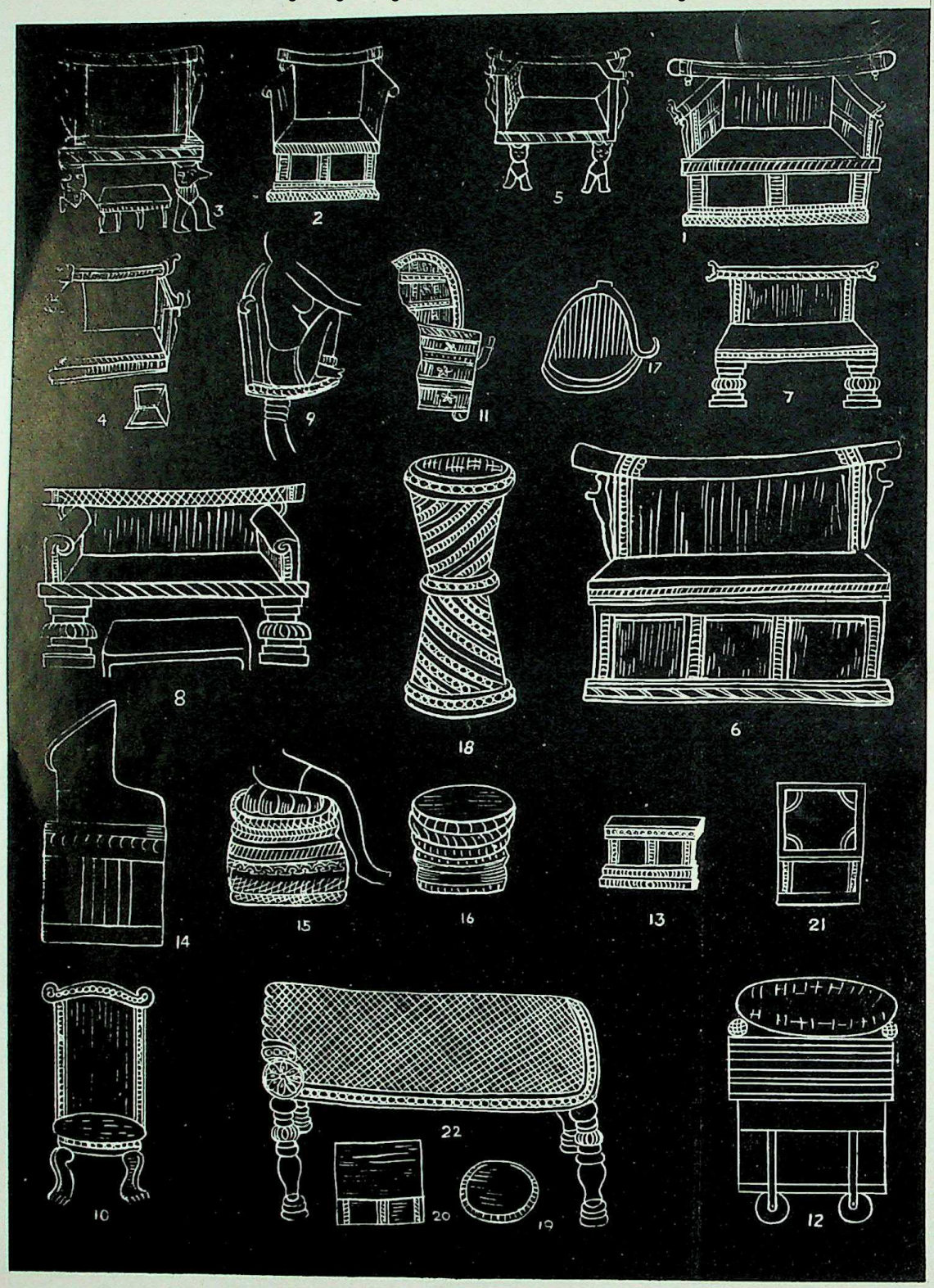

Fig. XI **Furniture**

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Another instance of this variety is supplied by the nāga king Āpalāla's throne. It is depicted in the panel[7] illustrating 'the nāga king Āpalāla subdued by the Buddha.' In this case ends of the projected top-bar are supported by figures of rampant animals, perhaps lions. The design on the back of the throne cannot be seen as it is mostly covered by a cushion. However, the beaded pattern on its sides can be seen. The middle portion of its base is decorated with oblique lines and a row of studs alternately while the upper cornice of the pedestal is carved with deeply incised oblique slashes. No foot-stool is provided.

(b) *Throne with a solid lower-structure and arms-rests*

The panel[8] illustrating 'the first Sermon in the deer park' at Sarnath contains a throne of this variety. The Buddha is shown sitting on this throne. The projected top-bar of the back-rest of the throne is supported by arches. The arm-rests of this throne are plain and rounded. The solid base contains a beaded decoration on the lower cornices. On the middle oblong of the solid structure can be seen vertical bands (*Fig. XI, 2*).

A precisely similar throne is seen in the panel[9] depicting 'the admission of the six śākya princes and the barber Upāli to the order.' This throne, on which the Buddha is shown sitting in the *padmāsana* fashion (cross-legged), is richly decorated. In this case, the ends of the top-bar of the back are supported by two arches as seen obove. The top-bar is decorated with rows oblique lines and dots alternately while the arches are decorated with a row of studs or beads. The arm-rests have *makara-mukhas* as their terminals. Its solid base contains ornamental decoration on the lower cornice while the middle portion of the base is carved with vertical rows of *pūrṇaghaṭas* on its sides (Pl. V). The *pūrṇaghaṭa*[10] in early Indian art is a common motif and occurs profusely in the early sculptures of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati etc. A rectangular foot-stool with offsets is to be seen in front of the throne.

(c) *Throne having legs and without arms-rests*

The throne of king Suddhodana depicted in the panel[11] 'casting the horoscope' illustrates this variety. It is just like a chair without arm-rests and having four legs that are well carved and shaped like pillar: the capital of the pillar consists of a ribbed globe. The ends of the projected top-bar of the back have *makara-mukhas* as terminals which are in turn supported by rampant animals, presumably lions. The back is decorated with the Buddhist rail-pattern, (*sūchi* and *ūrdhvapaṭa*); (Pl. XXV). Since the seat of the throne is very high a foot-stool is provided in its front. The

7 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XL-b.

8 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV-a.

9 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIV-b; cf. Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), pl. II-F.

10 For origin of the *pūrṇaghaṭa* see Agrawala, V. S., *Pūrṇaghatā* in Early Indian Literature and Art, *Rūpalekhā*, vol. XXII, no. 1., 1951, pp. 22-31; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

11 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a; cf. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 12. In fig. 19 queen Yaśodharā is shown sitting over a similar throne. Also see fig. 50 and 98, 125, 136, 161-f, 162-B, 189, 190, 194,A for comparison.

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king Śuddhodana is seen resting his left leg on it, his right leg is kept akimbo. Somewh at similar thrones occur in Amaravati sculptures.[12]

The panel[13] depicting 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow' offers a similar throne. Prince Siddhārtha is seen sitting over it with his right leg dangling. In front of the throne is placed a rectangular foot-stool. The ends of the top-bar of the back are decorated with a row of beaded pattern. The throne has pillar-shaped or *āmalaka* shaped legs. The *āmalaka vantikā pīṭhaṁ* mentioned only in the Pali texts is a chair with legs of this type. Such thrones with *āmalaka* shaped legs occur at Amaravati.[14]

A precisely similar throne is met with in the panel[15] depicting Śibi Jātāka. In this case, the top-bar is decorated with a criss-cross design while the sides of the back are carved with rows of a beaded pattern. The legs of the throne are, however, not visible. And king Śibī has placed his left leg on the foot-stool provided in front of the throne (Pl. XXXV).

In another panel[16] a throne of this variety is depicted and king Śuddhodana is shown sitting over it. In front of the throne is kept a foot-stool on which his left leg is resting. In this case the ends of the top-bar have split terminals. A cushion *(biṁbohaṇa)* is to be seen on the throne. The pillar shaped legs of the throne are clearly visible.

(d) *Throne with arm-rests and having legs*

This variety is illustrated by the throne on which *Dharmacakra* is installed in the panel[17] depicting 'the first sermon in the deer park.' It is having rounded arm-rests and pillar-shaped or *āmalaka* (shaped) legs. These legs are akin to the *āmalaka vantikā pīṭhaṁ* mentioned in the Pali texts. A rectangular foot stool is seen kept in front of the throne. Parallel examples are seen at Amaravati,[18] Goli,[19] and Ghaṇṭaśālā.[20]

These thrones, with or without arm-rests but having pillar shaped or *āmalaka* shaped legs, may probably represent the *pallaṅkas* mentioned in Pali texts.[21] The word *pallaṅka* (in Pali) means an embellished chair or a dignified chair and is synonymous with the Sanskṛit word *paryaṅka* or *paryaṅkikā*.[22] Ordinarily, the legs of the *pallaṅkas*

12 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, 2; XX, 2, XXXIV, 2; XXXVI, 1; L, b. Barret, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, IX, XXVI, XXIX; Mitra *op. cit.*, 1, p. 258, N0. 101.

13 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-a.

14 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, 2, XX, 2, XXXIV, 2; XXXVI; L, b.

15 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLII-a.

16 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII.

17 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-b.

18 Sivaramamurti, , *op. cit.*, pls. XXXVII, 3; XLI, i; XLIX, a; Barrett *op. cit.*, pl. VI.

19 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli Sculptures), pls. I-D, II-E and F.

20 Alexander Rea, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX.

21 *BD*, ii, 271, n. 3, *Cullavagga*, 1, 8, VI. 14; *Mahāvagga*, V. 10.4

22 *Kādambarī*, p. 17; *Kālidāsa* refers to a word *Vistara* which means a honoured seat worthy of a royal house.

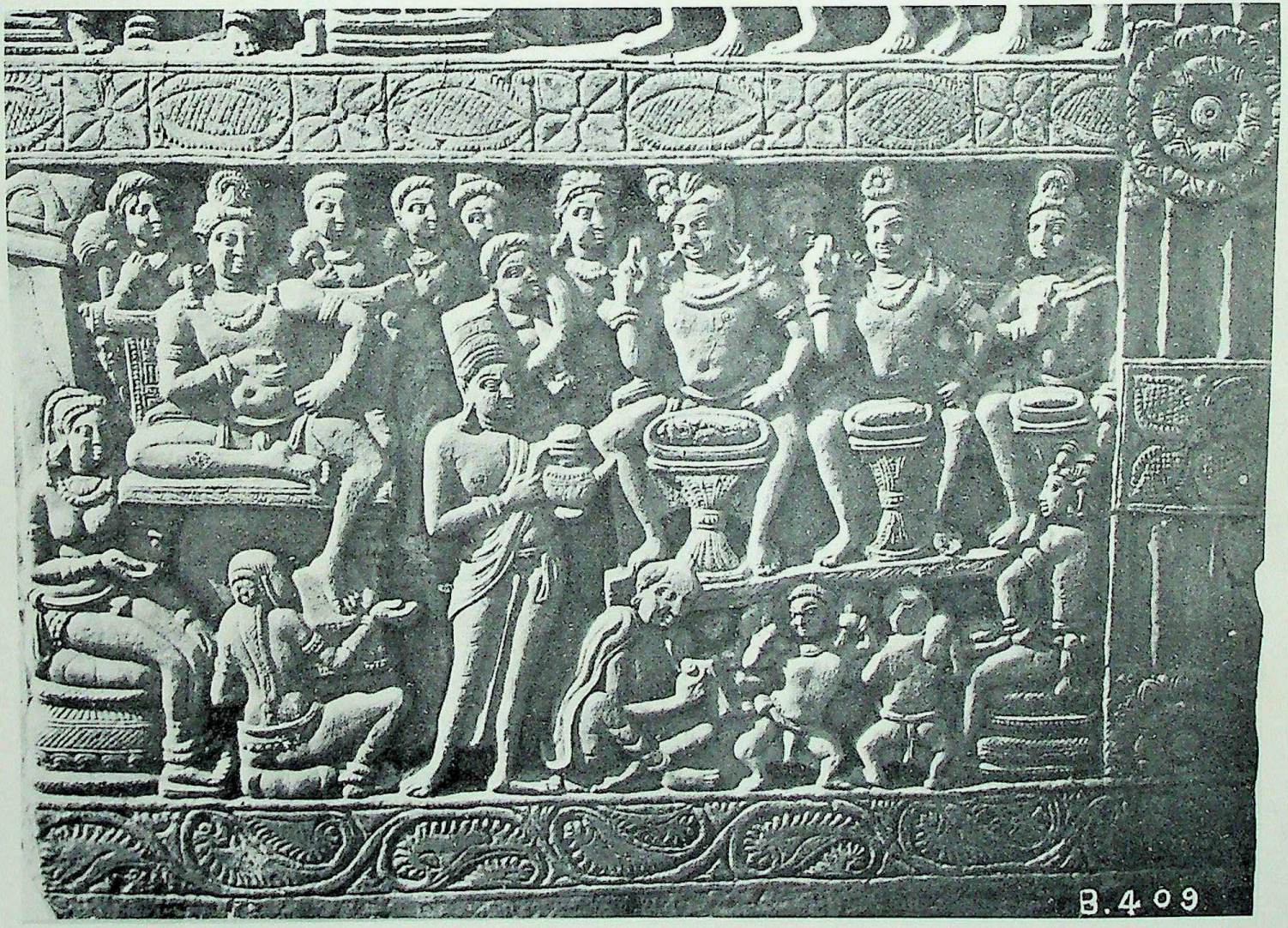

Plate XXV Casting the Horoscope

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were composed of bulbous portions of one or more' stepped pyramids. As already pointed out, the *āmalaka vantikā pīṭhaṁ* mentioned in the Pali texts is the chair which has legs of this type.[23] If there are no arms to the *pallaṅkas* they are known as *addha pallaṅkas*.

(e) *A throne, having animal figures as legs but-devoid of arm-rests*

The throne on which the Buddha is shown sitting in the panel[24] depicting 'the Buddha preaching to four monks,' illustrates this variety. The throne has no arm-rests and has four animal shaped supports instead of pillar shaped or *āmalaka* (shaped) legs. The animal figures represent lions as their manes are seen distinctly. The ends of the top-bar of the back-rest have ball like terminals and are supported by figures of rampant animals, perhaps lions (*Fig. XI, 3*). A rectangular foot-stools seen in front of the throne.

(f) *A throne with animal figure as an arm-rest and having legs*

This variety is illustrated by the throne of the Buddha depicted in the panel[25] representing 'the Buddha preaching in the deer park' at Sarnath. The ends of the top-bar of the back and arm-rests have *makara-mukhas*. The arm-rests are seen supported by animal shaped supports. The animal represented appears to be a lion. The pillar shaped legs of the throne are clearly visible.

Another instance of this variety is shown in the panel[26] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka. This throne is exactly similar to the one described above (*Fig.XI,4.*) However, the legs of the throne are not clearly visible. The king Daśaratha who is shown sitting over the throne has placed his left leg on the foot-stool provided in front of the throne. Parallel examples of this variety occur in the scupltures of Amaravati.[27]

(g) *Throne with animal figures as supports of arm-rests and legs*

In the panel[28] illustrating 'the episodes in the career of the Buddha', this variety of throne is represented twice. In both the cases, the lion figures are seen supporting the legs as well as the arm-rest terminals. The top-bar of the backs of both the thrones have projecting ends and they are supported by arches (*Fig. XI, 5.*) Foot-stools that are generally seen in front of the thrones are present in both the cases. In the mid-scene of the panel the Buddha is shown placing both the legs on the foot-stool. Parallel examples of this occur in Amaravati sculptures.[29]

23 *Vinaya texts*, iii, p. 165; *Cullavagga*, VI. 2. 4.

24 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-b, cf. Gandhara; Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 37 (from Taxila), 193.

25 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV-a.

26 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a.

27 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, 1; XXV, 2; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII, XLV; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 95a.

28 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. L-b.

29 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, 15; XXXIII, d; LIII, 1.

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A slight deviation of this variety is depicted in another throne in the same panel. In this case the arm-rests are not supported by any animal figures as in the earlier types. Except this difference, the throne is exactly similar to the one above. However, the four animal shaped legs, probably of lions, of the throne are clearly seen. A foot-stool is provided in front of the throne.

These thrones, having animal figures as supports of arm-rests or legs or both, may probably represent the *Siṁhāsanas*. Generally, the lion-throne or a *Siṁhāsana* is meant for the use of the deities and kings. According to Rajendralal Mitra[30] 'the name of the throne *Siṁhāsana*, is derived from the images of the lions (*Siṁha*) which originally formed its supports but the secondary meaning of a state-chair or throne, soon set aside the derivative meaning of a lion-seat, and such words as *Pāda, padma-siṁhāsana* (lotus-lion-seat), *gaja-siṁhāsana* (elephant-lion-seat) got into currency from very early times.'

Bharata[31] in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* prescribes the lion-seat to be used only by gods, kings, and the chief queens. The Pali texts refer to a *Siṁhāsana* made out of fig. wood. Kālidāsa speaks of a king's throne and a golden foot-stool besides the other paraphernalia. In the *Raghuvaṁśa*, a *Siṁhāsana* made of gold and decked with gems has been referred.[32] T.A. Gopinatha Rao explains it as "a four-legged seat, circular or rectangular in shape and one *hasta* or cubit in height. The four legs of this seat are made up of four small lions.'[33]

The lion motif appears to be one of the most ancient decorative symbols, probably, typifying the royal nature of the furniture of early people. In Egypt, only lion paws and heads alone were used as terminal decorations. In Gothic representations they appear more often as grotesques or in heraldic shapes.

(ii) *Large Thrones*

The large thrones, or more precisely sofas or benches, also display all the varieties found in the case of small thrones. They have nothing remarkably different from the smaller thrones except that they provide accommodation for two or three persons. A sofa[34] is generally understood to be a long upholstered seat for two or more persons. In the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs they are usually found used by the king together with his queen or queens. However, the varieties of large thrones represented in the reliefs comprise (i) throne having solid lower structure but devoid of arm-rests, (ii) throne having solid base and arm-rests, (iii) throne having legs but without arm-rests and (iv) throne having legs and arm-rests.

30 Mitra, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 250.

31 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 235.

32 *Raghu*, VI. 1; XVII. 7; XIX. 57.

33 T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *The Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1 [(Madras, 1914), Part 1. p. 21.

34 The modern name sofa is of Eastern origin and was first used about 1680 to designate a divan-like seat in France. The same type had also been called *conape*. It had a back and arms at each end but was distinct from the *settee* by its greater comfort. Vide Joseph Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

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(a) *A throne, having solid lower structure but devoid of arm-rests*

A clear example of this variety comes from a pilaster[35] from *Stupa 3* : a king and a queen are seen have occupying such a throne; each has a leg resting on the foot-stool kept in front of the throne. The sides of the back-rest of the throne are decorated with beaded pattern while the middle oblong portion of its solid base contains a criss-cross design. A cushion is seen placed on the throne.

That this variety of thrones provided accommodation for even three persons can be known from some of the instances represented in the reliefs. Thus, in an unidentified panel[36] a throne providing space for three persons is illustrated (*Fig. XI, 6*). A king and two of his queens are shown occupying this throne. In the present example, the terminals of the projected top-bar are supported by rampant figures—probably of lions—as is distinct from their manes. The sides of the back of the throne and the middle portion of its solid base contain vertical rows of beaded pattern. The lower cornice of the pedestal is again carved with an ornamental decoration. The king is seen resting his right leg on the foot-stool provided in front of the throne.

(b) *Throne having solid base and arm-rests*

This variety is illustrated on an ornate pillar[37] from the palace Site; a king and a queen are shown occupying this. As the seat of the throne is very low, no foot-stool for this throne is provided, and the king is seen having his left leg on the floor. The top-bar of the throne and the plain, solid lower-structure are clearly visible.

In another panel[38] that depicts Māndhātu Jātaka a throne of this kind is represented. The king Māndhātu and his queen are the occupants of this throne. The dying monarch Māndhātu is shown with his legs completely stretched on the throne, while his queen, who is supporting him is having her right les resting on the high foot-stool kept in front. The top-bar supported by the arches contains a criss-cross design while the back of the throne is plain and devoid of any decoration. The throne has rounded arm-rests which are embellished with beaded pattern. The upper cornice of its solid base is also carved with a similar design. This throne is very spacious and could easily accommodate three persons (Pl. XIII).

(c) *Throne having legs but without arm-rests*

A solitary example of this variety comes from the panel[39] illustrating Māndhātu Jātaka. The weary Māndhātu, attended by his two queens, is shown occupying this throne. The projected top-bar of the back appears to contain slightly projected *makara-mukha* terminals. The top-bar and the sides of the back are decorated with a row of beaded pattern while the seat edge is carved with a row of

35 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-a; cf. Gandhara-Herald Ingholt, *op. cit* , fig. 4, 11, 21.

36 *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI-c,

37 *Ibid.*, IX-b. cf. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XII.

38 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-b.

39 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIX-a; cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, 8; also Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 256, No. 96.

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circlets. This throne has *āmalaka* shaped legs (*Fig. XI, 7*) which answer well the *āmalaka vantikā pīṭhaṁ* as mentioned in Pali texts.[40] A foot-stool which is provided in front of the throne is utilized for a different purpose: a tray is seen kept over it.

(d) *Throne having legs and arm-rests*

A fine example of this kind is illustrated in the panel[41] depicting Māndhātu Jātaka. The ends of the projected top-bar of its back are supported by arches. The top-bar is decorated with a criss-cross design. The arm-rests of the throne are rounded, and in this case, they are curved inwards towards the seat. The arm-rests are carved with beaded pattern. The throne has *āmalaka*-shaped legs akin to that of *āmalaka vantikā pīṭhaṁ* (*Fig. XI, 8*). A large rectangular foot-stool is seen provided in front of the throne on which the queen is resting her crossed legs.

Another relief[42] from *Stupa* No. 2, represents a sofa on which a king and a queen are shown sitting. The throne is very simple and has rounded arm-rests, in this case, the rims of the arm-rests are rounded outwards. The throne has pillar-shaped legs.

In yet another panel[43] we get a throne of this variety but with a different fashion of the arm-rest. The arm-rests of this throne are horizontal and square cut while the other description remains to be same as in the above case.

An elaborate throne of this variety is seen in the panel[44] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka. This throne is occupied by the king Māndhātu and Indra. As usual the ends of the projected top-bar of the back-rest are supported by the arches. The ends of the arm-rests have animal-motif supports which appear to be lions. The throne has *āmalaka*-shaped legs akin to that of *āmalaka vantikā pīṭhaṁ*. A large rectangular foot-stool is kept in front of the throne.

These large thrones or sofas can be identified as the *āsandis*. Similar *āsandī* type of furniture occurs in the sculptures of Amaravati.[45] In Buddhist literature[46] it is referred frequently to mean a long seat. *Dīgha Nikāya* considers it as a long seat that can take more than one person. The commentary on *Theragāthā* defines the *āsandī* as a long-legged-four-cornered chair upon which it is possible to sit but not to

40 *Vinaya Texts*, iii, p. 165, *Cullavagga*, VI, 2, 4; Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 3, 10, 40.

41 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII-b,

42 *ASIAR*, 1927-28, pl. LII-b; cf. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXVI, XLIV, also cf. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 256, No. 97; Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 20.

43 *ASIAR*, 1927-28, pl. LII-b.

44 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII-a.

45 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, 8, 16, XXXIII, fig. 1-f, XXXII, 1-a; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, XXVII, XXXVI, XLIV; Mitra, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 256, Nos. 96 and 97; J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, *ASI*, *i* (London, 1887), pl. VIII, fig. 2; Fergusson, pls. LXIX and LX, fig. 2.

46 *Dīgha Nikāya*, 11, 23; 1. B. Horner *The Book of the Discipline*, iii, XLII, 1; *Mahāvagga*, V, 10. 3. 4. 5; *Cullavagga*, V, VI, 8; V. 37; VI. 8; VI. 14; VI. 141. 1.

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lie.[47] The monks it appears were forbidden either to sit or lie on an *āsandī*, *pallaṅka* and *tūlika*.[48] This *āsandī* type of a seat is said to have been prohibited for use by Gautama.[49] But the monks were allowed to use an *āsandī* if its legs were either cut down or broken[50] (*bhinditvā*).

(e-(i, ii) Thrones without a back-rest

Apart from the hitherto described varieties of the thrones some of the reliefs also depict thrones (both large and small but) without backs. They may comprise stone slabs carved and decorated in the manner illustrated in the sculptures.

Thus, the panel[51] depicting 'the Buddhas and the Devas' illustrates this throne or a seat of this variety. It is a small throne with solid lower-parts and without a back or arm-rests. The upper cornice of the pedestal is decorated with oblique rows of dots, and the sides of the pedestal contain vertical row of beads. However, the decoration on the oblong middle-portion of the pedestal is not clearly seen.

The best example of this variety occurs in the panel[52] illustrating 'Sagata and the *nāga* of the manga ferry.' The Buddha is shown sitting in the *Padmāsana* posture over this throne. The decoration on the solid lower-structure of the pedestal is elaborate and consists of a panel of louts design separated by a vertical row of beads. No foot-stool is provided in this case.

A slightly different fashion of this variety is seen carved on an inscribed pillar[53] discovered near *Stupa* No. 9. It is a long bench supported by two vertical uprights. A rectangular foot-stool is also provided for this throne (*āsana*).

Probably the above mentioned thrones (*āsanas*) may represent the *mīdhis*—a bench (solid) mentioned in the *Cullavagga*.[54] The commentary on *Vinaya*[55] explains it as the *piṭha-phalaka*.

CHAIRS[56]

Besides the smaller thrones described above (which resemble chairs) the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs also represent some other chairs of high workmanship. It is really surprising and delightful to find things exactly like the modern ones in the antiquities of the remote past. The very fact that these chairs are seen represented in

47 Commentary on Theragāthā, i. 137.

48 *Vin.*, ii, 163 and also 142-3.

49 *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, i, 18, 1 and *Dīgha Nikāya*, i, 7.

50 *Vin.*, ii, 169-70

51 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV-c.

52 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII-b.

53 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XXXIX-c.

54 *Cullavagga*, V. 94 and VI. 2.4.

55 *VA.*, 1216; *Vin.*, ii, 43 *mīḍhi*; *Vin.*, text, iii, 163 says that it is built against the outer wall of the house of hut. Made of hardened mud with two wooden legs in front it is a bench used to sit or sleep on.

56 According to Jeseph Aronson the chair is a single movable seat (*op. cit.*, p. 83).

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palace interiors shows that they were costly and pertained to royal furniture.

Two varieties of chairs, namely, (i) a three-legged and high-backed chair without any arm-rests and (ii) a high backed chair with arm-rests, are sculptured in the reliefs.

(i) *A three-leged and high-backed chair without arm-rests*

This variety of furniture is represented in the reliefs four times. All the instances are nearly alike and distinct. The panel[57] illustrating 'the lady Amarā and the four wisemen' depicts a chair of this kind. The chair is seen on the right-hand side of the king's throne, lady Amara is shown sitting over this chair.

This chair has a circular seat frame which is decorated with a row of large oval beads. A cushion (*bhisī*) is seen placed on the seat. The back of the chair is high and has two vertical bars with tops—rounded and everted slightly. Both the vertical bars are connected by an arched top-bar. All these bars are decorated with single rows of large oval beads. It cannot be ascertained whether there is any intermediate support between these bars. The chair has only three visible legs; the shafts of these are shaped like the legs of a lion (*Fig. XI, 9*). The leg ends are not, however to be seen as they are covered by a female attendant and a dwarf sitting in front of the chair.

A similar chair is represented twice in a panel[58] illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow.' Both the chairs are seen occupied by females. In each case both have one leg on the foot-stool, provided in front of the chairs; the other leg in both instances is kept akimbo. The two chairs are placed on either side of the king's throne. The one that is seen to the right hand side of the king's throne is very much akin to the one described above. The legs of this chair are curved (*vaṅka*) and show the shape of a lion's fore-leg very clearly. The ends of the legs are also carved in the form of lion's paws[59] (*Fig. XI, 10*). We find the parallel examples of this type at Amaravati[60] and at Ghaṇṭaśāla.[61] The other chair which is to the left of the king's throne in the same panel is precisely similar to the one above.

Another panel[62] illustrately 'night before the renunciation' shows a chair of similar variety. The circular seat-frame of this chair is decorated with a row of dots separated by olique triple lines alternative. The other aspects of this chair are exactly similar as the ones described above.

57 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-a; In Gandhāra art we get three legged stool. The legs have lion paws. See Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 16.

58 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-a.

59 Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

60 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI-1, XXIV-4; Barret, *op. cit.*, p. 6 VII, VIII, XX; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Amaravati) 88.

61 Alexander Rea, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII.

62 *OHRJ*, Vol. XII (1964), No. 2, pl. XXIV-3.

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(ii) *A high-backed chair with arm-rests*

The solitary example of this variety is found in the panel[63] illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka. The chair on which Devagabbhā is sitting has a high arched back with a full intermediate support which is decorated with bead-rows, lotus-flowers, and the rail pattern. The arm-rests are also decorated with the same pattern or design on the intermediate support. The lower portion of the panel is damaged, and as such, the leg portion of the chair is not available (*Fig. XI, 11*) for scrutiny.

These chairs, with high-backs and arm-rests, may represent a kind of three legged *pallaṅkas* (*Parıaṅka or Paryaṅkikā*) (a rich chair) while those with high-backs and devoid of arm-rests may represent *addhapallaṅkas* with *vaṅkapādas*. As is evident from the sculptures, this chair appears to be exclusively meant for the use of the females. It is interesting to note that somewhat similar chairs with sloping or arched-out backs known as *cathedras* were used exclusively by women of the Roman period.[64]

The chairs represented in these reliefs also occur at Amaravati[65] and Ghantasala.[66] In literature we get the word *pallaṅka* to mean a rich chair.[67] Four kinds of chairs[68] are mentioned, namely, a long one (*masaraka*), one with slats (*bhundika baddha*), one with curved legs (*vaṅka pāda*) and one with removable legs(*āhaccapādaka*) besides these other chairs such as the rectangular chairs, plaited chairs (*baddha pīṭha*), cloth chairs (*pīṭhikā*), sheep-footed chairs (*elakapādako*), straw chairs and wooden chairs (*phalaka pīṭha*)[69] were also used.

THE WHEELED CHAIR

A solitary example of this variety occurs in the panel illustrating 'king Kappina's ordination.'[70] This chair has a rectangular seat-frame standing on two wheels. A pillow (*biṁbohaṇa*) is placed on the seat. The upper cornice of the seat frame is decorated with rows of beaded pattern and the criss-cross design while the lower cornice of the seat frame is plain (*Fig. XI, 12*).

Panini refers to wheeled chairs called *Parpās* used by the disabled persons.[71] One who uses the *Parpā* is called *parpika* apparently the same as the *pīṭha sarpī* of the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (XXX, 24), Manu (VIII. 394), and the Jātakas.

63 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-a.

64 Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 127, vide also Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

65 Sivaramamurti *op. cit.*, pls. XXI-1, XXIV-4; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. VII, VIII, XX; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Amaravati), 88.

66 Alexander Rea, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII

67 *BD*, ii; 271 n. 3; *Cullavagga*, 1, 8, VI, 14 *Mahāvagga*, vol. 10. 4.

68 *Vin.*, IV. 168, 169 *Vbha*, 356.

69 *C.V.*, VI. 2, 4; *VA.*, 1216, 1217; *BD*, II; *VA*; 776.

70 *OHRJ*, vol. XII (1964), No. 2 pl. XXVII-13

71 V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, (*A Study of the cultural Material in the Ashṭadhyāyī*), Allahabad, 1953, p. 144,

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It is said that in Roman period a chair with a sloping or an arched back was reserved for invalids.[72] Probably the utility of the chair depicted in the sculpture may be different from that known to Panini. However, this type of a furniture article getting its depiction in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā is unique and quite interesting.

SEATS AND MORAS

Seats and moras appear in the reliefs frequently. Some of them are so shaped as to resemble the modern ones very much. In some cases persons are provided with seats in a socially befitting manner. But the general tendency in the sculptures seems to be that no such convention as prescribing seats according to ones status has been strictly adhered to by the sculptor while illustrating the seats. For instance the cane seats or *moras* though primarily intended for holy persons like sages and brahmins are seen occupied by the princes, queens, ministers, female attendants etc., irrespective of their social status in the society. However, in their frequency of occurrence in the reliefs, the rectangular seats are scarcely depicted when compared to the occurrence of the circular cane-seats or *moras*.

(i) *Seats*

A rectangular seat is illustrated in the panel[73] depicting Māndhātu Jātaka. The seat has an appearance of a pedestal and probably was made of wood. It is richly decorated with a beaded pattern. The upper and the lower cornices and the middle oblong portion of the seat-frame—all contain beaded patterns (*Fig. XI, 13*). A brahmin is seen sitting over this *āsana* befitting his position. Bharata, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*,[74] while laying down the rules prescribes a wooden seat for a brahmin. This has been well answered in our reliefs. The rectangular or circular seats, without legs, can be identified with the *mañcas* as mentioned in the Buddhist literature.

That these rectangular seats were at times equipped with back-rests can be known from the *āsana* carved on the inscribed frieze slab.[75] The princes Yaśodharā is shown sitting over this seat, her right leg is dangling while her left leg is kept akimbo. The seat frame is decorated with a beaded pattern and vertical lines. The top-bar of the seat is distinctly seen (*Fig. XI, 14*). Evidently the small thrones, with solid lower structures, were developed from these seats.[76] Somewhat parallel

72 Scyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

73 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX-b. In Gandhāra art monks are provided with similar seats. See Herald Inghold, *op. cit.*, fig. 96 and 97.

74 *Nāṭyāśāstra*, p. 236.

75 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A; cf. Gandhāra (Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 43).

76 Similarly the curule chair of the Roman period and the side chair of the middle ages were developed stools by the addition of the back. Vide Scyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 127 and Aronson, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

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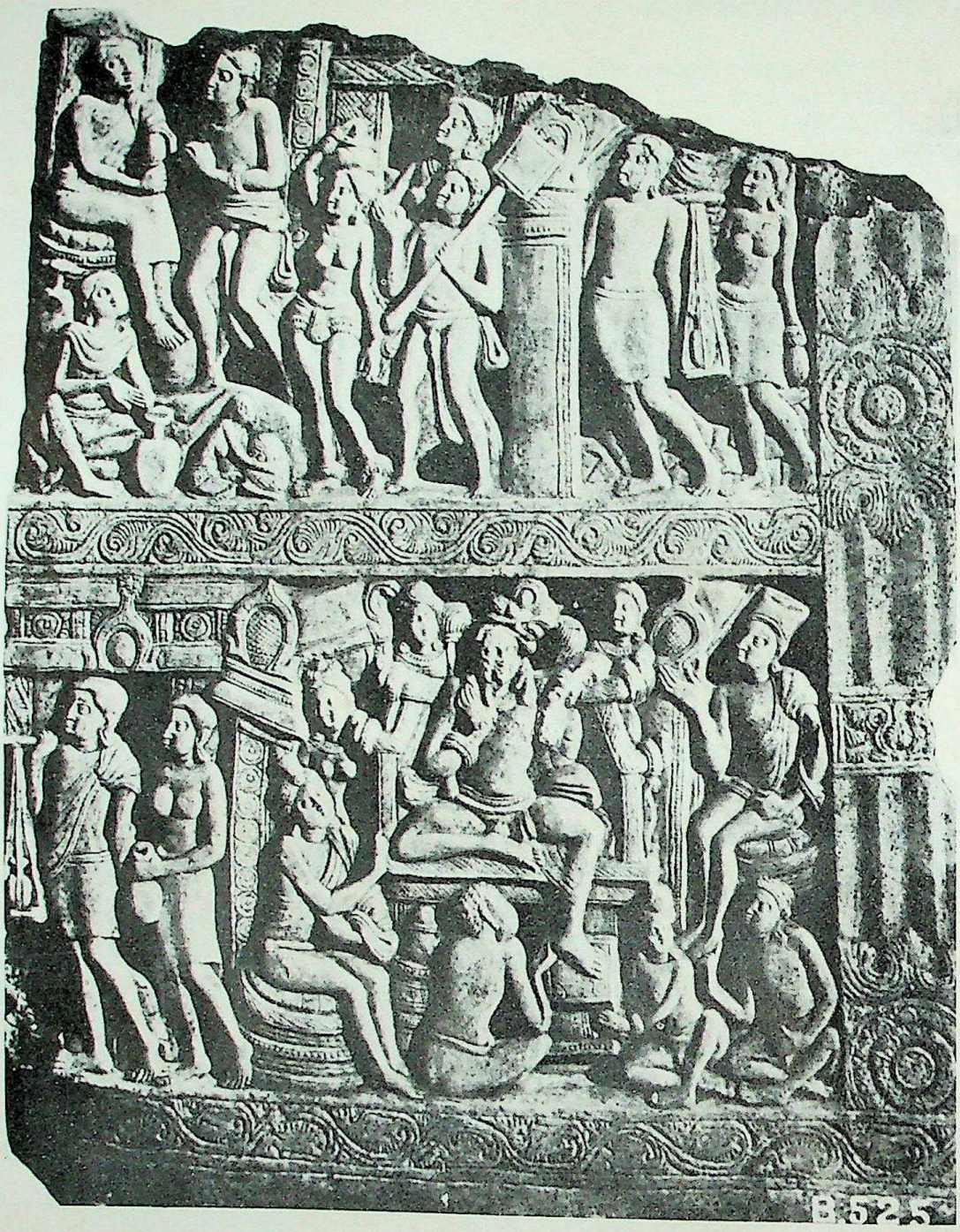

Plate XXVI Daśaratha Jātaka

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examples, where rectangular seats have a back-rest added, come from the Amaravati sculptures.[77]

(a) *Cane-seats or moras : vetrāsana (s)*

The circular cane-seats or *moras* (*vetrāsanas*) appear to be the most favoured (items of furniture) by the people of the Ikshvāku period. As is evident from the sculptures these seats have been used by all the classes of people irrespective of their social positions. Thus the queens, princes, sages, ministers, and female attendants appear in the reliefs sitting over the *moras*.

These cane-seats are invariably seen surmounted with cushions (*bhisīs*). They are either low or of medium height and at times contain very elaborate decoration. The cushioned cane-seats with their different shapes and designs must have accorded a pleasing appearance besides being comfortable to sit on.

In a panel[78] illustrating 'the casting of the horoscope,' an elaborate circular cane-seat or *mora* is seen. It is of medium height and is decorated with rows of oblique slashes, the criss-cross and the chain designs. Over this, a cushion stitched in the *āmalaka* fashion, is placed (*Fig. XI, 15*). The queen Māyā is shown sitting over this *mora* with her two legs resting on a foot-stool (*pādapīṭha*). This is the only instance where a queen is shown sitting over a circular cane-seat to which a foot-stool is provided.

In the same panel a similar cane-seat is depicted. In this case a prince[79] is shown sitting over it. The cane-seat is circular inshape and is of medium height. It contains a decoration which includes beaded pattern, criss-cross design, and a row of circlets (Pl. XXV,). Bharata[80] in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* prescribes *muṇḍa*-seats for the princes. Probably the modern *mora* might be related to the word *muṇḍa* as both signify identical form and material.

A different variety of cane-seats is seen occupied by a Śākya prince in the panel[81] illustrating 'the admission of Six Śākya princes and the barber Upālī to the order.' The low cane-seat is broad and circular. It contains a criss-cross decoration (Pl. V).

The examples of elaborate cane-seats (*moras*) are, however, met with in the panel[82] illustrating Daśaratha Jātaka. The cane-seats on which Rama and Lakshmana are shown seated exhibit fine workmanship. They are surmounted by lions and contain decorations of beaded pattern and oblique lines (*Fig. XI, 16*). The stitches on the cushions run in single or double (Pl. XXVI,) lines. Again, in the same panel, Rama is shown sitting over a similar *mora* in the forest. It is also richly decorated and has a cushion as seen in the above case. The beaded pattern of the circular cane-seat is clearly visible.

77 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, fig. 5.

78 Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XX-a; cf. Gandhāra-fig. 93, Herald Ingholt. *op, cit.*,

79 Compare Gandhāra : Herald Ingholt, *op- cit.*, fig 25.

80 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 236.

81 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-b

82 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a.

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The sages were honoured by providing cane-seats or *moras* as can be known from some of the reliefs. The panel[83] illustrating 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana' depicts a cane-seat occupied by the sage Asita. The cane seat is circular and is of medium height (Pl. XVII). This is the second instance, in the whole range of the reliefs, where a foot-stool is shown provided with a cane-seat.

In some cases the *moras* are shown used by the ministers. One unidentified panel[84] represents a minister sitting over a low cane-seat. It is interesting to note that Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* prescribes cane-seats for the minister. The other class that used such *moras* very commonly was the attendant class.[85]

At times, these circular cane-seats are added with back-rests. A sculpture[86] revealing the Buddhist *stūpa* illustrates a cane-seat with a back-rest (*Fig. XI, 17*). A *pūrṇaghaṭa* is shown placed over it. The back of the cane-seat is made of cane (*vetta*) or bamboo (*velu*) and is known as *vidalamañcaka*; Buddhagosha explains it as a *Vettamañca*. Parallel examples of this kind of furniture occur in the Amaravati sculptures.[87]

Sometimes, pillows or cushions by themselves, were used as seats.[88]

The moras or cane-seats are very common in early Indian art and literature. In Amaravati sculptures[89] they are profusely depicted. The moras also occur in the sculptures of Sanchi, Bharhut, Goli, Mathura, and Gandhāra and on the caves of Bhaja, Badami (Cave-1) and Ajanta (Cave X).[90] Parallel examples are also seen on some of the ivories from Begram datable to 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.[91]

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*[92] prescribes the *moras* (seats) to the persons according to their social status: thus the priests and ministers are to occupy the cane-seats; the sacrificer should sit on a *Vṛsi* (*kuśa* grass-seat) or a *muṇḍa* or on a cane-seat. In our reliefs, in some instances, such seats as are in conformity with the rules enjoined in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* are provided.

The Buddhist literature speaks of the stools made out of *khus-khus*, *muñja*, and reeds.[93] As already pointed out the circular or rectangular seats without legs are called *mañca* seats. These cane (*vetta*), or bamboo (*velu*) seats are known as

83 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a.

84 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-b.

85 Longhurst, *op. cit*,. pl. XXXIX-b, Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. IV. and V.

86 *ASIAR*, 1929-30, pl. XL-d.

87 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, 3,4,5; pl. XXXIV-a; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXIII, XXXX VI; Mitra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 254, No. 92.

88 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV-a.

89 Sivarmamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, figs. 6, 10, 14, L1, fig. 1a, XXV, fig. 2, XXXII; fig. la,XLI, fig. 1d, fig. 2b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. VI, VII, XXVI, XXVII, XXIX, XXXVI, XLIV, XLV; Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 253, No. 92.

90 J. Auboyer, 'Ancient Indian Ivories from Begram' *JISOA*, vol. XVI, (1948), p. 44, footnote-3.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 44 and pls. VIII, No. 54.

92 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 236.

93 *Cullavagga*, VI. 4.

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vidalamancaka or *vettamancam* as explained by Buddhaghosha.[94] The *Mahāvagga*[95] refers to a word *kochcha* which means a cane-bottomed chair. Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasaṁbhava* refers to a seat (*vetrāsana*) of similar kind.

The Egyptian stools or seats were X-shaped or solid framed. The Greeks and Romans used stools resembling ancient Egyptian ones. Stools or seats without backs were also used by mechanics, soldiers and boys at school in the Roman period[96]. The earlier Etruscans used tub-shaped chairs;[97] evidently these seem to have been developed by them from the stools or the seats. "Stools and forms" says Aronson[98], "were thus slowly pushed down the social scale until they were either completely rustic or in more elegant surroundings, only for ornamental or launging purposes."

WICKER STANDS[99]

In some instances these cane-seats or *moras*, it appears, were used as wicker stands for keeping vessels. The panel[100] illustrating 'the casting of the horoscope' represents three such wicker stands over which baskets are kept. The wicker stands are seen in alignment in front of the three guardian deities who are seated on a long bench. They are circular stands made of cane and fashioned like a pair of truncated cones with their apices together (*Fig. XI, 18*). A *Stūpa* slab (No. 219) also represents a wicker stand over which a relic casket is put.

This wicker stand was used even by the poorer class as can be known from the panel[101] which depicts a village scene. It is shown placed before a hut. Since no vessel is to be seen on it, it might presumably have been used as a seat also.

These wicker stands can be identified as the *paṭṭa kaṇḍolikas*. In the *Cullavagga*[102] they are termed as *paṭṭa kaṇḍolikas* and monks were allowed to keep their bowls on these. The wicker stands are also said to have been used for serving food when they had wooden tops, these, may be identified with the *bhojanaphalakas* of Buddhaghosha.[103]

94 Quoted from Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 137, *Velu Vilivahi va vitam*-Buddhagosha.

95 *Mahāvagga*, 10. 2.

96 Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

97 Singer and others, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 223, fig. 197.

98 Aronson, *op. cit.*, p, 413.

99 The term *wicker* according to Aronson is generally used for furniture woven of various natural or synthetic materials such as willow, reed, rattan or spirally twisted paper, vide Aronson, *op. cit.*, p 459.

100 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-a. cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, fig. 17; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV; cf. *JOSIA*, vol. XVI, (1948) pl. IV-d; VIII no. 57,59; cf. Mathura specimens at the British Museum.

101 Ramachandran, *op. cit*, pl. XXX-A.

102 *Cullavagga*, iii, 86, V, 9, 4; see also Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

103 *Vinaya texts* iii, p. 165; *Cullavagga*, vi, 2, 4 footnote 7

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FOOT-STOOLS OR FOOT-RESTS OR PĀDAPĪṬHAS

The foot-stools were an important item of furniture in Indian house-holds.[104] In ancient Indian literature we get copious references to them and many of these, of various designs and patterns, are represented in Indian sculptures. Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures reveal a considerable variety of them.

Foot-stools are generally seen with the high thrones, though some exceptions to this occur in the reliefs. Small thrones, which are usually high and accommodating only one person, are invariably found with a foot-stool in front of them. Evidently the height of the throne necessitated the foot-stool. Only one foot-stool is found in front of each throne of this kind.

Large thrones, accommodating two or three persons, were provided with foot-stools according to the number of the persons sitting on them. But this does not hold good in all the cases; for, we have instances of a single large foot-stool serving the purpose of two or three small foot-stools (*pādapīṭhas*) (Longhurst, Pls. XLVIII-a, XLIII-b, XLVIII-a, XXIII-a etc.)

The foot-stools represented in the reliefs are either plain or ornate. Wherever decoration is present it comprises rail and beaded patterns or as sometimes occurs the lotus-flower and line designs. By way of shapes the foot-stools represented in the reliefs can be classified as circular, square and rectangular. Of them, the rectangular ones exceed in number while the other two are less frequently depicted.

(i) *Circular foot-stools*

The depiction of circular foot-stools is proportionately much less in number as compared to the rectangular ones as stated above. Both ornate and plain circular foot-stools are available in the reliefs, of these the decorated ones are more. The plain circular foot-stools are only seen in association with the small thrones.

The panel[105] illustrating 'episodes in the career of the Buddha' depicts a foot-stool of circular shape decorated with beaded pattern (*Fig. XI, 19*). In another instance[106] a circular foot-stool of this kind is depicted. In this case it is decorated with a rope pattern. The top of the foot-stool is so fashioned as to slant to one side in order to give a comfortable footing.

An interesting example of the foot-stool comes from the panel[107] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka. A circular foot-stool is seen associated with the throne on which Rama is sitting. The foot-stool is of considerable hight to suit the high throne (Pl. XXVI). Since the context of the story is in a forest scene, it is quite probable that the foot-stool may have been just an improvised one; it may just have been a boulder used like a foot-stool.

At times, these circular foot-stools were also utilized as arm-rests. This can

104 Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

105 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. Lb,

106 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-C.

107 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a.

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be known from the panel[108] illustrating 'the death of the Buddha.' A foot-stool of circular shape is seen used as an arm-rest. The *nāga* is shown resting his right hand on it. The arm-rest is circular and decorated with rope design. Comparable examples of this come from Goli[109] sculptures.

(ii) *Square foot-stools*

The square foot-stools are represented almost in equal proportion to the circular ones in the sculptures. Both ornate and plain varieties are available. These foot-stools are seen usually associated with either small thrones or the *āsandis.*

An example of an ornate square shaped foot-stool comes from the panel[110] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka.' It is decorated with a beaded pattern. Parallel examples of square shaped foot-stools associated with the thrones come from Amaravati[111] and Goli.[112]

A precisely similar foot-stool is met with in the panel[113] illustrating the Māndhatu Jātaka. It is placed before an *āsandī* occupied by the king Māndhātu and his queen. The queen is seen having her right leg on the square foot-stool; it is considerably high and suitable for high the *āsandī.* Its upper side and dado are decorated with a beaded pattern (Pl. XIII).

A clear example of a square foot-stool is found in the panel[114] illustrating 'the lady Amarā and the four wisemen.' This is considerably broad and is placed before the throne of the king of Banaras. It has accommodated one foot and contains a decoration of beaded pattern (*Fig. XI, 20*).

(iii) *Rectangular foot-stools*

The rectagular foot-stools appear to be the most favoured ones as is evident from the sculptures. They are frequently depicted in the reliefs and are associated with (a) small thrones (b) *āsandis* and occasionally with (c) cane-seats or *moras.*

(a) *Rectangular foot-stools associated with the small thrones*

Generally, the bas-reliefs depict these foot-stools in association with the *siṁhāsanas* or the *pallaṅkas.* Thus, the panel[115] illustrating the Buddha preaching to the four monks' reveals a rectangular foot-stool or *pādapīṭha.* It is placed before a *siṁhāsana.* The upper and the lower cornices of its seat-frame and dado are decorated with beaded pattern (Pl. XXVII).

108 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-c.
109 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures) pls. I-A, IV-J.
110 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-b.
111 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII. 1, XX-1, L, b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV, XLV.
112 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli Sculptures), pls. IV, 1, VI, 2.
113 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXIX-b, cf. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII.
114 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-a.
115 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI-b. cf. Sivaramamurthi, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, figs. 15; Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 12, 20, 37, 98, 104, 136, 189, 190, 194-A.

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A more richly decorated rectangular foot-stool is found in the panel[116] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka. It is placed before the throne of the Daśaratha. Its upper and lower cornices and dado are decorated with beaded pattern. In this case the top of the foot-stool also contains four arches, in double lines and in the four corners (*Fig. XI, 21*).

(b) *Rectangular foot-stools in association with āsandī (s)*

Some of the reliefs depict rectangular foot-stools, of both ornate and plain varieties, associating with the *āsandī* type of furniture. The panel[117] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka depicts a foot-stool of a similar kind. It is fairly large and occupies the whole length of the *āsandī*; it has the appearance of a carved slab and is decorated with the beaded pattern on the lower cornice of its frame. This foot-stool is seen serving two persons—the king Māndhātu and Indra.

At times these foot-stools had cushions placed over them. It is evident from the panel[118] illustrating 'the *nāga* king Apalāla subdued by the Buddha.' In this case also the foot-stool is large and rectangular. The cushions (two) seen on it resemble the *maṇḍalāgrā bṛisī*. The foot-stool is sufficiently high to suit the *āsandī* and contains a beaded pattern on the lower cornice of its frame. The noteworthy feature of this foot-stool is that it holds cushions normally, these are absent in depictions of other foot-stools.

A different type of the rectangular shaped foot-stool occurs in the panel[119] illustrating Māndhātu Jātaka. It has legs[120] and is placed before an *āsandī*. The foot-stool is seen occupying the whole length between the legs of the *āsandī*. It provides a place of rest for the feet of one of the queens of king Māndhātu. Such foot-stools, though used in different ways, are available in Bengal and elsewhere.They are called *Jalachauki* in Bengal and *Chauki* in Uttar Pradesh.

(c) *Rectangular foot-stool in associate with cane-seats or morā(s)*

A clear example of a rectangular foot-stool associating with a cane-seat comes from the panel[121] illustrating 'Asita's visit to Śuddhodana.' It provides space for both the feet of the sage Asita who is sitting on the cane-seat. The foot-stool contains the usual decoration of the bead pattern (Pl. XVII).

Foot-stools in the early Indian art and literature are referred profusely. Thus, the contemporary sculptures of Amaravati and Goli and later of the Gandhāra art

116 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLV-a

117 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII-a; cf. Herald Ingholt *op. cit.*, figs. 10, 11, 21.

118 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XL-b.

119 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIII-b.

120 Comparable example comes from Amaravati sculptures (Wood no. 89 and 104 of pages 148 and 240 respectively in Mitra's book on *Indo Aryans*, vol 1) and Gandhāra sculptures (Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 3)

121 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI-a.

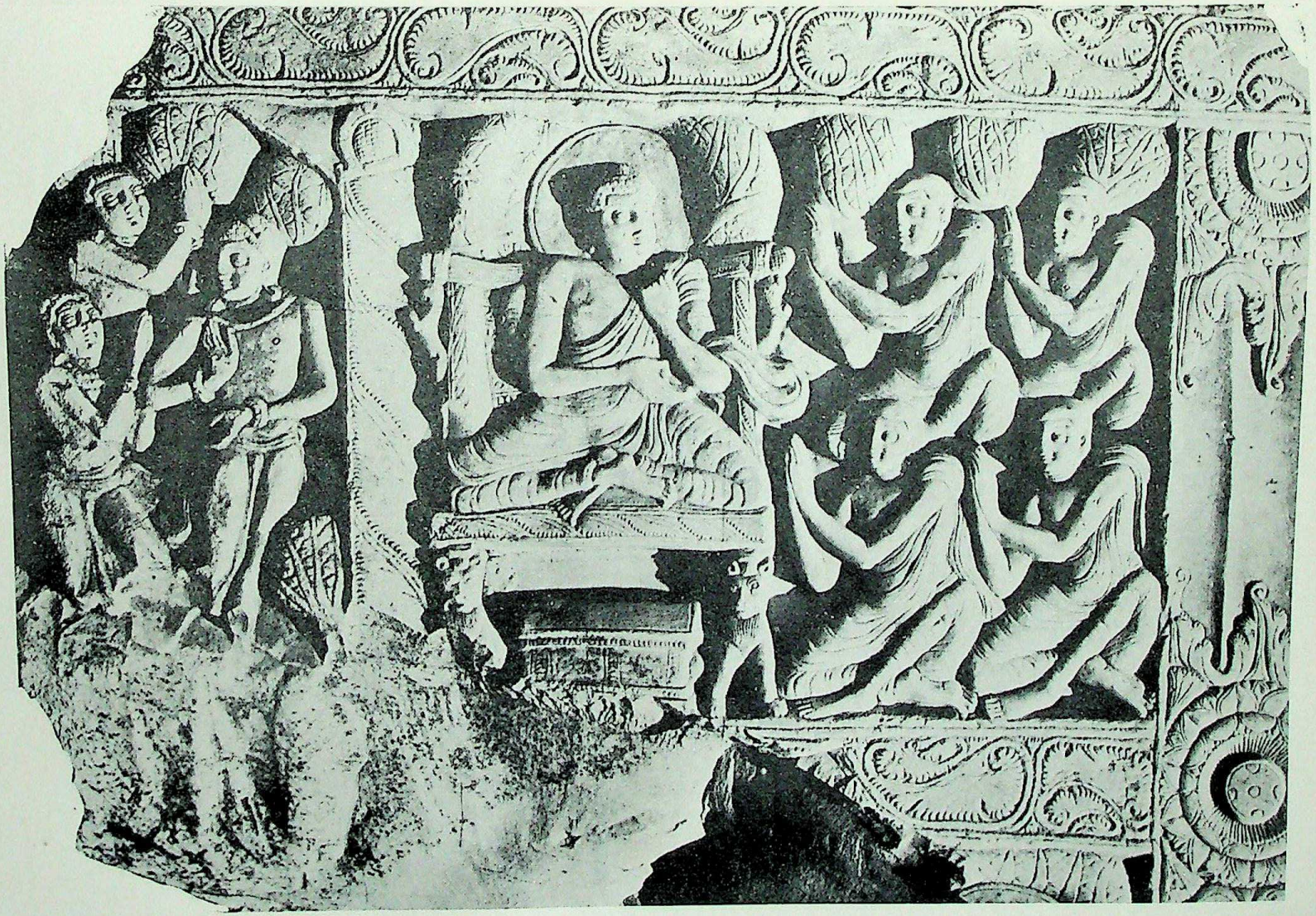

Plate XXVII The Budha Preaching the Four Monks

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reveal many such foot-stools[122] In literature the *Suttavibhaṅga*,[123] the *Mahāvagga*[124] and the *Cullavagga*[125] mention the foot-stools at several places. The *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* speak of "the *pādapīṭhas used to place the washed feet.*"

BEDSTEADS

In the reliefs bedsteads are depicted more than once. Generally it has a wooden frame consisting of four beams; two beams are short and the other two are long (nearly twice the length of the shorter ones): then each of a pair was perhaps kept paralleled to each other and joined at the ends to form a rectangular or the frame of the bedstead; the short sides comprised its breadth and the longer ones its length. Two holes were probably made at the ends of each of the two shorter beams and the side beams were fixed then into them.[126] At the four corners of the frame four legs, presumably manufactured by the technique of turnery,[127] were fixed. All the five parts of the leg from top to bottom, namely: head *(śiras)*, pitcher *(kumbha)*, shank *(Jaṅghā)*, base *(ādhāra)*, and hoof *(khura)*, are easily seen.[128] The *kumbha* is so called evidently because of its being fashioned like a pitcher. It is referred to as *āmalaka* in Buddhist literature. The fringe of the frame is commonly decorated with beaded pattern (*Fig. XI, 22*). The frame of the bed probably has strong cord woven across and running through holes pierced in it.[129] The bedstead is made either of wood, cane, or split bamboo and is the *vetrapaṭṭikā* as mentioned by Bāṇa.[130]

The two sculptures (No. 47 and 48)[131] revealing 'Māyā Devī's dream' give

122 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII. 1, XX-1, L, b, XII2, 15; 12; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. VII, XXVI, XXVII, XXXIV, XLIV, XLV, Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 88: Ramachandran (Goli Sculptures), Pls. I-A; IV-J, IV, 1, VI, 2 Mitra, *op cit.*, Nos. 90, 104; Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 9, 10, 11, 12, 20, 21, 39-A-B, 44, 50, 136, 143, 187, 189, 190.

123 *BD*, iii *Sanga Diseas*, IV . 1; VA 913 say a foot-stool to place washed feet.

124 *Mahāvagga*, i, 6, 11; i, 25, 1 p; i, 25. 14; IV, 1, 36; IV, 173; IX, 101; X, 4, 1, 3, 5.

125 *Cullavagga*, 1, 28, VIII.

126 Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* prescribes a specific order (*pradakshiṇāgra* order) in fixing the frame of the cots or bed steads. The *apasavāgra* is strictly forbidden and supposed to cause fear from ghosts (*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*; LXXXVIII. 27); vide A. M. Sastri's thesis *"Studies in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira*, p. 289 (typed copy kept in the Nagpur University Library)

127 This art of turning on the *lathe* is very ancient. As early as in the 7th cen. B. C. in Greece it was in wide spread. This art was probably developed in the wood producing areas of the Middle East and from there, it spread slowly into the Greek mainland (Singer & others : *History of Technology*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1954), p. 192). In the Hellenistic period turning was introduced into Egypt and other parts of the Roman world (Singer & others, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 688, 223, fig. 196).

128 cf. *Maithili Sarana Gupta Abinandana Grantha*, p. 898, fig. 39.

129 *Vin.*, ii, p. 167, VI. 2, 6.

130 *Harshacarita*, p. 151.

131 The numbers denote the accession numbers of the sculptures as preserved in Archaeological Museum, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā as on 1962. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 10, 39, 41, 44. In this, queen Yaṣodharā is shown lying in *prasarita* pose on a bedstead) vide *OHRJ* vol. XII, 1964 No. 2, p. 81.

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fine examples of a bedstead. A peculiar roll shaped thing, probably a long pillar *(bimbohaṇa)* is to be seen besides Māyā on her bed. Similar rolled thing is invariably found in the bed of Māyā depicted in the sculptures of Bharhut[132] and Amaravati[133] and in the Gandhāra art.[134] It is quite probable, as construed by Sivaramamurti, that this roll shaped thing or a large pillar on a bed may characterise the bed of a pregnant women.[135]

In both the sculptures Māyā is revealed, as elsewhere, lying on a bed with one of her arms so kept as to serve as a pillow and the knees stretched. This *prasārita* posture as classified by Bharata[136] in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* is the usual posture of Māyā invariably found in the sculptures depicting 'Māyā Devī's dream,' in early Indian art.

Another sculpture[137] (No. 93) depicting the dead body scene reveals a bedstead over which a dead body is made to lie in *vivartita posture* (i.e. lying with face downwards as mentioned by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra)*. The bedstead is precisely similar to the one noticed above.

A slightly different variety of the bedstead or of a cot is seen depicted in a relive panel.[138] The frame in this case is different from those found in the above examples. Here it has curved beams, length-wise, while the breadth-wise beams are shorter as seen in the case of the above ones. The legs of the cot also differ in this case by having plain and vertical uprights in contrast to the elaborate legs of the above examples. A bed cover (*uttarāttharana*) can be made out distinctly. A bedstead with its pillow and coverlet arranged on it constituted the *senāsaṇa* (bedding).

These bedsteads can be identified as the *mañcas* mentioned in the Buddhist literature. In art, the sculptures at Bharhut,[139] Amaravati[140] etc., represent parallel examples of the bedsteads noticed in our sculptures.

In Buddhist literature we get the word *mañca* to mean a couch or a bedstead. The *Vinaya piṭakas*[141] *Suttavibhanga, Mahāvagga*, and *Cullavagga*, team with references of the *mañcas*. It is stated that the *mañca* should be made of eight finger breadth

132 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 31d.

133 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, fig. 1 i, L, fig. 2 a; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. VII.

134 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 9 and 10.

135 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

136 Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* speaks about the various kinds of lying down postures on the bed. They include 1. *Ākuñcita*, 2. *Sama*, 3. *Prasārita*, 4. *Vivartita*, 5. *Udvahila*, and *Nala* (*Nāṭya-śāstra*, p. 236-(224).

137 In the Gandhāra art, the *Mahāparinirvāṇa* scene depicts bedsteads on which the Buddha is lying in *prasārita* posture. See Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 133 to 142; In two figs. coffin of the Buddha is depicted (figs. 143 and 144).

138 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XLV-d.

139 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 31d.

140 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, fig. 11, L, fig. 2a, Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. VII.

141 Horner, *op. cit.*, i, I, 48. 5; 1, II, 3; i, II, 1; i, XIII, 1. 1; i, VIII, 1. 4; *B.D.* ii, VI, 1; ii, XIV, 1. 2; ii, XVIII. 1; *B.D.* iii, LXXXVII, 2. 1; iii, LXXX, VIII, 2. 1. 2; iii, XXI. 1; *B.D.* iv, V, 10. 4; IV, 11. 1; IV, V, 22. 3; *BD*, V.

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(*aṇgula* high) according to the accepted finger breadth,[142] except for the knotched ends below.

Four kinds of *mañcas* are enumerated: namely, a long one,[143] one with slats,[144] one with curved legs,[145] and one with the removable legs.[146] Apart from these four kinds, a couch of split bamboo is also spoken of.[147] Sometimes a bed cover *(uttarāttharа)* over a chair or a couch is also referred to.[148]

Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāṣtra*[149] vividly gives the various lying-down postures in bed and interestingly some of them have been well answered in the sculptural representations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The *prasārita* and *vivartita* postures, explained by Bharata, find place in the sculptures illustrating 'Māyā Devī's dream' and a dead body scene. The poet Kālidāsa refers to the word *talpa* and *paryaṅka*[150] which mean a high bedstead. Another word, *Śayyā*, is referred to mean a cover, bed, and a bedstead as a whole. *Amarakoṣa*[151] mentions the words *mañca* to mean a bedstead. In the later work, *Mānasāra*, several words like *Kākastha, Khaṭṭaka, Khaṭvā, Nishadyā, Paryaṅka, mañca* and *mañcalī* are synonymous and all mean a bedstead. In Varahamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[152] measurements of couches meant for the Kings, princes, ministers, army chiefs and royal priests are given.

PILLOWS AND CUSHIONS

Pillows and cushions *(bimi ohoṇa* and *bhisī* respectively) were freely used as is evident from the sculptures. Buddha's empty throne is invariably illustrated with two pillows, one to sit upon and the other to lean against. In some cases, cushions are seen placed on the furniture exactly fitting into them.

142 *Sugataṇgula*, Sugata here meaning "Standard", recognised accepted, right; cf. *Sugata-Vidhatthi*, a span of the accepted measure at *Vin.*, iii, 149; cf. *Sugata civara Vin.*, IV. 173 below.

143 *masāraka* : Commentary on *Vinaya*, 773 says " It is made by boring a hole into the feet of the couch and putting a knotched end through there. Quoted from Horner, *op. cit* , II. p. 240.

144 *bhundikabaddha*, *VA*, 773 says "It is made by holding the bed-stead together, having burnt the feet of the couch with knotched end, Quoted from Horner, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

145 *Kulirapādaka* or curved *VA*, 773 says "made with feet like the feet of horses, rams, etc.; whatever has curved feet (*vaṅkapādaka*); lit. carved as to *the feet* is called *kulīrapādaka*, a crab-footer.

146 *āhaccapapāka* : *VA*, 774 says that "It is made by piercing the leg. Then having pierced the knotched ends, putting a knot through them and giving a pin above the couch that is made should be called an *āhaccapādaka*.

147 *BD*V., VI, 2. 4; *Bidala mañcka* cf. *Ja* i. 9, *Dha*, 1. 135 mentions as a feature in the life of one who has gone forth, *VA*, 21b mentions a twig couch or one woven with bamboo chips.

148 *BD*, ii *VA*, 666 says that it is called a sheet for spreading over a couch, *uttarāttharaṇam ti mancakassa upari attharaṅakaṁ paccattharanaṁ vaccati*.

149 *Nāṭyaśāstra*, p. 236.

150 *Raghu*, V, 75, XVI. 9; see also B.S. Upadhya, *India in Kālidāsa* (Allahabad, 1947), p. 214f.

151 *Amarakoṣa*, 2, 3, 138.

152 Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

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The cane-seats or *moras* are usually represented with pillows having rounded corners. Such circular pillows are particularly chosen so as to suit the cane-seats precisely. In majority of the cases the cane-seats are having cushions over them.

At times the *āsandī* type of furniture is seen provided with as many pillows as the number of persons occupying them. In a few instances, a pillow is shown used as a seat independently without placing it on any item of furniture. As it would appear, the pillows and cushions were all well stuffed, and occasionally were also very large as seen on the bed of Māyā depicted in the panel illustrating 'Māyā Devī's dream' (Nos. 47 and 48).

The kinds of pillows and cushions illustrated in the reliefs include (i) two pillows invariably associated with the empty throne of the Buddha, (ii) the cushions with tassels hung from their covers, (iii) pillows with round or oval shaped corners and (iv) cushions fixed in the seat frames.

(i) *Two pillows associated with the empty throne of the Buddha*

The panels[153] illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park' and 'the miracle of Śrāvastī,' represent the Buddha's empty throne over which two pillows, oval or round in shape, are placed. Of them, one is meant for sitting while the other is to lean against. The stitches after stuffing are seen running almost in the *svastika* fashion. The stuffed material was usually wool, cotton, bark, grass, or *tālī* (palmyra) leaves.[154] Parallel examples of such pillows are met with frequently in the sculptures of Amaravati.[155]

(ii) *The cushions with tassels hung from their covers*

This variety of cushions is illustrated in the reliefs more than once. The panel[156] illustrating 'the transport of the relics' depicts the cushion of this kind. The cushion is so placed over the *simhāsana* as exactly to fit into it. Two tessels are seen hanging from the covers of the cushion adding beauty to it. Similar examples occur in the Amaravati sculptures.[157]

The panel[158] illustrating 'Chandaka's *nivedana* about Siddhārtha's *abhiniṣkramaṇa*' depicts a pillow of this variety but used in a different manner. In this case, the pillow is used to lean against. It is seen placed against the back of the small throne over which Śuddhodana is sitting desolate. It's seen covering the entire back of the throne. The two rounded terminals at the two corners of the pillow are clearly seen. Its stitches run in such a manner that they meet at both the corners of the pillow.

153 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls, XXIX-b; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pls. VI-A; XIII-B and D.

154 *Vinaya* Texts, iii, p. 168 *Cullavagga*, VI. 2, 7.

155 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl, IV. fig. 33; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. VIII-b XLI; IX-a; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 88.

156 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-b

157 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XII, fig. 12

158 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII.

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(iii) *Pillow with round or oval shaped corners*

This type of pillow is illustrated in the panel[159] depicting Daśaratha Jātaka. Its rounded corners are partly visible at the back of the king Daśaratha sitting over a *siṁhāsana*. Such pillows with rounded corners were described as *maṇḍalāgrā bṛisī* in the Rāmāyaṇa.[160] In the present case it is stitched in the fashion which gives the appearance of an *āmalaka*. A similar *maṇḍalāgrā bṛisi* is again met with in the panel[161] illustrating 'Sugāta and the Buddha.' The Buddha is shown sitting over a pillow with rounded corners.

(iv) *Cushions fixed in the seat frames*

Some of the reliefs depict cane-seats or *moras* fixed with cushions. A fine example of a cushion fixed in a cane-seat frame is found in the panel[162] illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park.' In this case, the stitches of the cushion are distinctly seen.

In a panel[163] illustrating 'the casting of the horoscope,' we get two kinds of cane-seats; one contains a pillow of *maṇḍalāgrā bṛisi* type. Over this, the queen Māyā is shown sitting. The other one is occupied by a prince. In this case, the cushion of the cane-seat is fixed in the seat frame itself. The Amaravati sculptures[164] reveal many examples of pillows and cushions found in our reliefs.

159 Longhurst, pl. XLV-a.

160 Rāmāyaṅa, V, 18, 12.

161 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍā), pl. VII-B-1.

162 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-b.

163 *Ibid.*, pl. XX-a.

164 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. IV, fig. 33; XII, fig. 12; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. VIII-b, XLI, IX-a; Zimmer. *op. cit.*, 88 etc.,

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EIGHT

Musical Instruments

Traditionally the musical instruments have been classified under four categories, namely: (I) *tata* that which includes all stringed instruments, (II) *ānaddha* which comprises all that are struck like the drum, (III) *sushira* which includes all wind instruments like the flute and conch, and (IV) *ghana* which encompasses all cymbal-like resonators. The bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā;[1] depict all the varieties.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS : TATA(S)

Three types of stringed instrments, namely, (i) the bow-shaped or harp shaped *vīṇā* and(ii) the guitar type, and (iii) the straight board *vīṇā* are represented.

(i) *The bow-shaped or harp-shaped vīṇā*

"In the main line of evolution of stringed instruments" says Harrison, "there can be little doubt that the musical bow must be given a prominent position and that this in turn had its origin in the twanging of the string of the hunters' bow."[2] This type of bow-shaped *vīṇā* occurs in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā more than once. Thus in the panel[3] illustrating 'Sagata and the *nāga* of the mango ferry,' a female attendant is shown holding a harp on her lap in a slanting position, the tail-piece in her left hand, while the chords (*tantrī*)[4] are being plucked by her right hand, probably by means of a plectrum (*koṇa*). The process of sounding the strings with the plectrum was known as *ghaṭṭana* or *koṇāghāta*.[5] The harp has a curved board, (*ambhaṇa*), extending into an elongated curved arm, (*vīṇā-daṇḍa*), terminating into a round head (*śiras*).

1 See Krishnamurthy, K., 'Musical Instruments depicted in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa', *The Journal of the Music Academy*, vol. XXXV, 1964, parts I-IV; pp. 161-167.

2 H. S. Harrison, *Guide to the Collections in the Horniman Museum and Library* London country Council Publication, London, 1936, p. 31. In Africa and in parts of Asia musical bows which are of the same form and construction as the shooting-bow are still in use.

3 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII-a, cf. Goli, pl. VI-2-i (Ramachandran); cf, Amaravati; Barrett *op. cit.*, XXVII, XXXV; XXXVI; also cf. Hackin, *op. cit.* pl. III; cf. Budge, *op. cit.*, pl. IX.

4 See Coomaraswamy, "Parts of Vīṇā", *JAOS*, vol, 50, 1930, p. 250.

5 *Mṛchchhakaṭika*, Act. i. p. 18, see Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pl. 39A; 128-129.

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Fig. XII Musical Instruments

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The strings (*tantrīṇi*) are streching one over the other from the arm to the belly forming, as it were, arcs to the crescent of the whole frame. They pass through the holes (*chhidrāṇi*) in the hollow surface of the belly (*ambhaṇa*) (*Fig. XII, 1*). However, the bridge (*paṭṭa*) is absent in this case: it is not possible to use *paṭṭa* on the harp-*vīṇā* as the strings do not reach the sounding board (*pokkhara*) side by side but one over the other.[6] Again, since the strings of the harp are roughly represented, it is difficult to ascertain the number of strings in the case. In literature, reference is made to *saptatantrī vīṇā*[7] (*vīṇā* of seven strings) which was also known as the *parivādinī* or the *vipañchi* vīṇā.[8] Likewise the *vīṇā* of hundred strings is also referred to in *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*.[9] However, the top string, the *bhamaratantī* (bee-string), can be easily distinguishable: as this would be on the top, it was possibly the longest of the strings, giving the lowest 'note'.

Generally, the *vīṇas* were used equally by men and women, either as a solo instrument[10] or as an accompaniment to song;[11] or ofteners as accompaniment to dancing—whether dramatic or processional.[12] In the sculpture under discussion, the harp is used as a solo instrument.

The best example of the harp, as a solo instrument, is to be seen in the panel[13] illustrating 'the Buddha visited by Indra and the minstrel Pañchasikha.' In this panel, the minstrel Pañchasikha is shown with a harp of this kind, held horizontally, with the tail piece in his right hand while his left hand fingers are playing on the strings. This act, of sounding the strings softly with the fingernails, was technically known as '*sāraṇa*'.[14] The curved board of the harp shaped *vīṇā* extends into a curved arm terminating in a voluted head. The strings are seen streching from belly to the arm and fastened to its rounded underside. The *vīṇā* is made to dangle, by means of a starp probably of leather (*carma*), from Pañchasikha's shoulder (*Fig. XII, 2*).

The music and dance are forbidden to the Buddhists by the Vinaya texts. In strict conformity to this injunction in the Buddhist scriptures, the artist has realistically sculptured some men *Bodhisattvas* in the panel covering their ears with their hands. The standing *vādaka* is playing the harp.

The stringed harp was also played in processions to the accompaniment of dancing. This can be seen in the panel[15] depicting 'the *Bodhisattva* descending from the heaven in the form of the white elephant.' In this case, the *vīṇā* player (*vādaka*) is a god. This bow-shaped *vīṇā* is exactly similar to the one described above. The

6 Commaraswamy, *JAOS*, vol. 50, p. 250.
7 *J.*, 11. 253.
8 *Amara*, p. 48.
9 *Dha.*, 1, 215
10 Coomaraswamy, *JAOS*, vol. 50, p. 245,
11 *Sakka Paṇha Suttanta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* 11, 265); *Avadānaśātaka*, story 17.
12 *Divyāvadāna*, 553.
13 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIV-a.
14 *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, Act IV, p. 102; *Meghadūta*, ii, 25.
15 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-d.

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vīṇā player is playing upon the harp with his left hand finger nails (*agganakhāṇi*). The harp is shown slinging by means of a leather strap from his left shoulder.

This type of harp-shaped *vīṇā* was apparently evolved on the principle of 'bow and resonator' as it would appear from its plastic representations. It occurs even in the prehistoric rock paintings of central Asia[16] and that all the more supports the contention of Sivaramamurti—that this harp (*vīṇā*) was fashioned after the hunting bow, having the strings of gut, and may be regarded as the harbinger of all the musical instruments in the world.[17]

(ii) *The guitar type of vīṇā*

This kind of *vīṇā* gets its depiction twice in the reliefs. The panel[18] illustrating 'the transportation of the head-dress to Heaven' reveals a guitar type of *viṇā* being played upon by a god. It has a pear-shaped resonator and a straight neck: five strings extend across the resonator's (*pokkhara*) flat top which appears to have been of leather (*carma*). The holes seem to be in the top cover of the resonator as seen in the bow-shaped *viṇā*. The guitar has five small pegs to regulate the tuning by tightening or loosening them. A god is shown playing upon this guitar amidst the band of musicians. His right hand fingers play on the strings while his left is adjusting the tuning (*Fig. XII, 3,3a*). Here the instrument appears with a dancing party.

At times, the guitar was also used as a solo instrument. An example of this comes from the panel illustrating the 'night before renunciation' carved on an inscribed frieze slab:[19] a female attendant is shown holding a guitar on her lap and is playing upon it with a plectrum.[20] The guitar has two pegs by means of which tuning was adjusted.

According to Raghvan,[21] this guitar has a close similarity to the *kacchapi*, the favourite instrument of Sarasvatī. But K.V. Ramachandran[22] is of the opinion that the *kacchapi* is a different instrument which still survives in Java. He regards the guitar as closely resembling the *citra* from which the modern *sitār* is derived. But this guitar appears to be, as construed by Coomaraswamy,[23] more like a mandolin which has its survival in the *dunduni* of Travancore. The mandolin is also very much like a Japanese *biwa* and is much less represented in the reliefs—either replacing the harp or used together with it.

16 D. H. Gordon, *Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture* (Bombay, 1958), p. 106, fig. 14, 2.

17 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 144-145.

18 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII; cf. mandolin in Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, 50 p. 251 also cf. Hackin, *op. cit.*, pl. III, see also Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 31; fig. 92. Also see Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 3.

19 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A; cf. J. Burgess, The Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta, *ASI*, vol. I, (1887), p. 35 fig. 7 and also see plate 6 of *JAOS*, 50.

20 References to plectrums (*koṇas*) as a part of *vīṇā* occur in *Rāmāyaṇa*, 11, 71, 26 and 81; *Milindapanha* (Trinckner), 53; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, IV, 197; *Harṣacarita*, 84 etc.

21 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

23 Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, 50, p. 251.

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(iii) *The straight-board viṇā*

Apart from the harp and the guitar, the reliefs represent another variety of the *viṇā* it has a straight board. A solitary representation of this type comes from the panel[24] illustrating 'the nativity and the seven steps. A standing female attendant is seen playing upon it. She is keeping the *viṇā* aslant on her left shoulder and playing it with her left-hand fingernails. The *vīṇā* has a narrow string board, and the strings are stretched almost half of the entire length of the lute. It is devoid of any pegs (*Fig. XII, 4*). This lute is unique among the *vīṇās* depicted in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures. In a way, it reveals some similarity to the modern '*tamburā.*' It is held exactly in similar position as seen in the case of the modern *tamburā.* In all probability the instrument represented in the relief may well be the early form or the forerunner of the '*tamburā.*'

The Tamil *Sangam* literature refers to various kinds of musical instruments (*Iśaikaruvi*).[25] In the days of *Silappadikāram, viṇā* and the flute had highest recognition among the musical instruments.

The *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata speaks of *citra* and *vipañci vīṇās* and states that later consists of seven strings.[26] The poet Kālidāsa's[27] references to the *viṇā* in his *kāvyas* are plenty.

In early Indian art the harp is represented very frequently. The early sculptures of Bharhut,[28] Sanchi,[29] Pitalkhora,[30] Amaravati,[31] Goli[32] and Mathura[33] frequently depict the harp. It also appears in Gandhāra sculptures[34] but in a slightly different form. It continues to appear in the 4th-5th century A.D., and occurs on the *viṇā-vādana* coin types of Samudragupta.[35] A terracotta figurine of the Gupta period discovered at Rupar illustrates a *viṇā* of the harp type.[36] It becomes less

24 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII-a.

25 Chengalvarayan, N. 'Music and Musical instruments of the Ancient Tamils in *QJMS.*, vol. 26 pp. 82 90. The *vīṇās* like periyāl (*Viṇā* of twentyone strings), Mākarayāl (with 19 strings), sakodayāl (of 14 strings), senkothi yāl (of 70 strings), Adi-yāl or Perunkalan (of 100 strings) are mentioned (p. 1). A good description of a *viṇā* is found in the Perumpāṇāṟṟup-padai (lines 4-16).

26 Kapadia, B.H., 'Vina in Sanskrit literature', *PO*, XXVI, p. 6.

27 *Meghadūta*, (2nd ed. of P.R. Deshpande and T.K, Tope, 1947) V. 92; *Ragh.*, VIII. 33; 17. p. 45, V. 23; VIII, 35; XIX, 35; VIII, 41; *Rtu*, 1.3; 1,30.

28 Barua, *op. cit.*, 111, pl. XXXIX-3L.

29 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, pl. VII.

30 Swamipragnananda, "Saptatantrī vīṇā in the sculptures of the Buddhist cave at Ellora, Pitalkora", *Roopalekha*, pl. XXIII, 1961, p. 34 ff.

31 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, fig. 3 and 7.

32 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculpture) pl. VI-2, i

33 Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, pl. XLVI, b.

34 Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 118; Hackin, *op. cit.*, pl. III.

35 A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Nos. 3-8, pl. VI.

36 Sharma, Y.D.,'Past patterns in living as unfolded by excavtions at Rupar, *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1-2, fig. 24.

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frequent in the later period. And is replaced by the guitar type of *viṇā* which becomes very popular after the 6th century A.D. But one noteworthy feature of the harp type of *viṇā* is that in the early period it travelled far beyond the frontiers of this country. As early as in the 1st Cent. A.D., it appears in frescoes at Smarkand and on the frieze slab of Airtem in Uzbekistan.[37] Later it travels to south-east Asia and still survives in Burma by the name of Saun[38] and the instrument is also prominent among the Afghan tribes on the north-western frontiers of India.

In the stringed instruments of our reliefs, the frets and sympathetic strings are absent and evidently they seem to be a later development.

PERCUSSION INSTRUMENTS : ĀNADDHA(S)

The percussion instruments include a large variety of drums varying in their sound and shape. They range from the high sounding *paṭaha* to the sweet sounding tabors. The *mṛdaṅga*, the classical drum of India, literally means 'made of clay,' presumably, therefore, its body should have been originally of clay.[39] It is interesting to note that even to this day large earthen pots are utilised as such by the Indian drummers. And today the *mṛdaṅga* is an indispensible accompaniment to both vocal and instrumental music. Its solos are indeed a real treat; consistent practice is required to attain proficiency in playing upon it.

The reliefs represent many drums of which a majority are concert drums. However, the classification of the drums is made on the basis of their position in which they are held for playing.

(i) *Concert Drums*

The concert drums are those which are generally played to the accompaniment of other musical instruments in musical entertainments or in processions.

(a) *aṅkya mṛdaṅga*

The panel illustrating 'the last night before renunciation,[40] reveals a *mṛdaṅga* being played upon by a female attendant. She has placed it on her lap and is playing upon it with her hands. Since the representation is rough the other details of the *mṛdaṅga* are not clear. However, from the position in which it is held, the *mṛdaṅga* can be identified as the *aṅkya* type of *mṛdaṅga*.[41]

(b) *ālingya mṛdaṅga* :

Another *mṛdaṅga*, bigger than the preceding one, occurs on the fragment of a

37 Jean Jenkins, Musical instruments from central Asia,' Leader, Daily, Aug. 14, 1960.

38 P. Sambamoorthy, *Catalogue of the Musical instruments in the Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 15, pl. X, fig 1.

39 H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 123; Also see 'Why is the *Mṛdaṅga* so called' in *JMA*, XXIV, XXVI, by Dr. Raghavan.

40 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A.

41 cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, figs. 10, 12; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII.

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chaitya slab from the *āyaka* platform.[42] Two dwarfs representing *gandharvas*, the celebrated musicians, are shown playing on the *mṛdaṅga*. One of them is keeping the *mṛdaṅga* on his lap while the other is playing upon it. The *mṛdaṅga*, in this case, is suspended from the shoulders of the dwarf who is keeping it on his lap. It is held by means of straps: the strap on the right shoulder seems to be a chain while the other, on the left shoulder, appears to be a knitted rope. These straps are attached to the ends of the *mṛdaṅga*. This *mṛdaṅga* can be identified as the *āliṅgya mṛdaṅga*.

(c) *ūrdhva mṛdaṅga*

The sculpture, depicting 'night before the renunciation' carved on the inscribed frieze slab[43], reveals a *mṛdaṅga* in vertical position. Apparently, it had a single face on the top side. A female attendant is shown placing both her hands on it. As the *mṛdaṅga* is kept in an upright position, it may be identified with *ūrdhvaka* type of *mṛdaṅga*.[44] (*Fig. XII, 5*).

In some instances, these *ūrdhvaka* type of *mṛdaṅgas* are seen fastened to the stomach of the player by means of a strap or *udarabandha*. They are invariably seen being played upon by drum-sticks. Thus the panel[45] representing 'a decorated Andhra stupa' reveals a *ūrdhva mṛdaṅga*. It is seen fastened over the stomach of a god or a celestial being by means of an *udarabandha*. He has raised his hands in which the *koṇas* (plectrums) are held and is shown in the act of beating the *mṛdaṅga* (*Fig. XII, 6*). Gods are shown twice, playing upon the *ūrdhva mṛdaṅga* of this type.

Again, a similar example is depicted four times in the panel[46] illustrating 'the transportation of the head-dress to heaven'. In three cases the *urdhūva mṛdaṅgas* are clearly seen and in the remaining one case only the *koṇas* held in the raised hands of a celestial being in the act of beating the *ūrdhva mṛdaṅga*, are seen. The *mṛdaṅga* is not, however, visible to the spectator as it is covered by another celestial being who is in its front. The celestials here are seen holding the drum-sticks in their upraised hands—in the act of beating the *mṛdaṅgas*. The way in which their hands are upraised would suggest the pose of beating the drum in a vigorous manner. In that case, the *koṇāghātas*[47] would have produced a considerable sound as the *mṛdaṅga* was beaten by two *koṇas*.

(d) *muraja*

Another variety of drum is illustrated on an *āyaka* cornice stone from

42 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-A-1; *IHO*, vol. XXVIII, no. 2, p. 104, pl. I; cf., Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 63, fig. 92; cf. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 39-B.

43 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. LVII-A.

44 cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, figs. 8, 9; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI, cf. Gandhāra: Marshall, *op. cit.*, pls. 7, fig. 9, pl. 63, fig. 92. See also Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 13, 45, 117.

45 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XI-c.

46 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII.

47 The process of a sounding the drum louder with *koṇas* is known as *knāghāta*. Since Koṇāghāta, the beat of the drum stick produced a great volume of sound, *koṇāghāta* itself came to mean loud sound as in an orchestra where many *koṇas* would naturally be used-Sivaramamurti, *op.cit.*, p.147

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Stupa No. 6.[48] A dwarf is shown playing upon it with hands. The drum is made to dangle from his left shoulder by means of strap. It, possibly, produced a more refined sound than that produced by *koṇāghātas*. This refined and sweet sounding *mṛdaṅga* may be identified as the *muraja* type of *mṛdaṅga* referred to by Kālidāsa. It has horizontal and vertical bands or straps on its exterior (*Fig. XII, 7*).

(e) *mardala*

Another variety of the drum is to be seen in the panel[49] illustrating 'a decorrated Āndhra *stupa*.' It is represented thrice in the panel-being played upon by celestial beings (*Fig. XII, 8*). The drums are shown, in all the three cases, hung from left shoulders with straps. The celestial beings are shown playing upon the drums with curved drum-sticks on one face and on the other with fingers. One of them has raised the hand, which holds the *koṇa* so high as to suggest vigorous beating. These drums, typologically midway between the more refined *muraja* and the noisy *paṭaha*, may be identified as the *mardalas*. According to Sivaramamurti the *mardala* is very much like the modern south Indian *tavil*, drum.

One noteworthy feature of some of the concert drums, such as *muraja* and *mṛdaṅga* was that they often required a kind of rice-paste, to be applied to one or both the leather surfaces, to sweeten their sound.[50]

The concert drums described above were probably made of hollow blocks of wood and had their faces covered with leather, possibly calf leather, as is the case today.

(ii) *The Other Drums*

(a) *The dundhubhi*

Apart from these drums there are others which are large and remind of those used in temples and wars. In the reliefs they are represented, in association with other musical instruments, in processions.

The panel[51] illustrating 'the transportation of the head-dress to heaven' reveals a drum considerably big in size. It is shown being played upon by a celestial being. He has raised his right hand - in which he is holding a curved drums —Stick— so high as to suggest delivery of a very vigorous blow on its striking-side for producing a very loud sound. He is playing the drum on the other side with his left hand fingers in the similar way as the *mardala* was seen played upon previously.

The drum in this case is made to dangle from the shoulder (*Fig. XII, 9*). This may represent the *dundhubhi* which was generally seen used in temples and wars.

48 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII-c.

49 *Ibid.*, pl. XI-c; cf. Gandhāra: Marshall, *op.cit.*, pl. 5, fig. 7.

50 *Gāthāsaptaśati*, iii, 53.

51 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII; cf. Ghandhara: Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 5, fig. 7.

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(b) *The paṭaha*

In the same panel,[52] another celestial being is shown playing on a disc-shaped drum. He is seen playing upon the instrument supported on his thigh. The instrument is suspended by means of a strap. The celestial is playing the instrument with two curved drum-sticks (*koṇas*). The instrument is hollow on one face and its other face is covered with leather. The sound produced by playing two *koṇas* on its covered face, would have been very loud. This instrument may be identified as the *paṭaha* (*Fig. XII, 10*) which is exactly similar to the modern *ḍaph* used in Maharashtra; or the *ḍappu* or *ṭappeṭā* of Andhra Pradesh, and *ṭappiḍī* of Mysore. Even the manner in which it is shown being played upon in the relief is characteristic of its present day drummer.

These *paṭahas* were used on different occasions. The *paṭaha* used in funeral processions was called *preta paṭaha*.[53] In war drums like *paṭaha, dundubhi* etc., were used. And the auspicious drum, *praṭah kālanāndi-paṭaha*, was struck in the early hours of morning to notify the break of the day.[54] The *Nāṭya śastra*[55] lays down the rules for playing upon the drums. The *Silappadikāram*[56] of the Tamils enumerates as many as thirty one drums. Likewise Kālidāsa[57] speaks of drums like *puṣkara, muraja, dunhubhi*, etc.

The early sculptures of Bharhut,[58] Sanchi,[59] Amaravati,[60] Mathura; and Ajanta paintings[61] depict many of the drums noticed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

WIND INSTRUMENTS : SUSIRA(S)

Of all contemporary wind-instruments only conch is represented in the bas-reliefs at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Strangely, the flute, a most favoured musical instrument known to contemporary literature, is not represented anywhere in these reliefs. The early sculptures of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati, however, represent flutes; as also, the contemporary sculptures of Goli.

(i) *Conch : Śaṅkha*

The conch is represented thrice in the reliefs (*Fig. XII, 11*). The panel[62]

52 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII. cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, fig, 4; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII; Barua, *op. cit.*, III. pls. XVII-148a; XCVI-148c.

53 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. 147.

54 *Harṣacarita*, p, 125; *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI. 56.

55 *Nāṭya Śastra*, p. 73-74.

56 Chengalvarayan, *QJMS*, vol. 26, p. 82f.

57 *Ragh.*, XIX, 14; Meghadūta., 3; *Māl.*, 1. 21; *ku.*, VI. 40; *Māl.*, i. 22.

58 Barua, *op. cit.*, III, pl. XCVI-148a, XCVII-148c., XCVI-148a; Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX, fig. 26.

59 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XXIX, LXI, XXXIV, LXI, XL.

60 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, fig. 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, XXVII, XXXVI.

61 Yazdani, *Ajanta*, 1, p. 17, pl. XII-XIII, p. 22, pls, XVI-XVIII; II, p. 41, p. 49; VI, p. 24, 26, 48, 106, pl. LXXI, b; p. 93.

62 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV-b.

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illustrating 'transportation of the head-dress to heaven,' 'nativity of the Buddha'[63] and a sculpture fragment,[64] reveal a conch blower. In the instance a celestial is shown blowing a conch to the accompaniment of other musical instruments in a procession. In the another case also a celestial is shown blowing a conch but singly. In both the cases the conch is held by the celestials in both the hands and is being blown while keeping it directly on the mouth. The process of blowing the conch was known as *dhamana* (blowing) or *pūraṇa* (filling).

A conch may be blown in three ways—side-blown, end-blown, or blown through an attached mouth-piece. In the side-blown and end-blown cases, the conch is blown into directly by keeping it against the lips. In our reliefs the conch blowers are seen depicting the second method, namely, the end-blown fashion.

In early Indian art depiction of conches is varied. At Bharhut,[65] a conch with pipe occurs, invariably, accompanied with the *dundubhi*. At Amaravati,[66] both the varieties—with and without pipe—are available. In Ajanta[67] caves, the depictions of conches are profuse.

The sculptural depiction of conches at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā is also attested to by the recent excavations at the site. The recent excavations[68] have also yielded conches, of which the two recovered from the vicinity of *Aṣṭabhujaswāmi* temple bear inscriptions reading "*bhagavato Atha bhujasāmisa*", and "*dachchina kanasara.*"The discovery of the conches from the monastic[69] and temple areas at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, in the recent excavations, is highly suggestive of their religious function.

SOLID INSTRUMENT : GHANA(S)

The only *ghana* instrument occuring in the reliefs[70] is a pair of cymbals-possibly of some metal. On an *āyaka* cornice stone is carved a dwarf sounding the cymbals. They are simple and plain (*Fig. XII, 12*).

In the early centuries of the christian era, the *karatāla* appears to be more popular than *Kāṁsya-tāla.*[71] The *Kāṁsya-tālas* were also used to the accompaniment of other musical instruments. Even to this day they are used, particularly, in *bhajans* and *Harikathā Kālakshepams.*

63 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV.

64 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-A-2

65 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 1, pl. XXXIII, figs. 1, 2, and 3.

66 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, fig. 1 and 5.

67 Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 15; 1 pl. XVI-XVIII, p. 22; IV, pl. XIX-XXVI, p. 45; IV. p. 107, pl. LXXIV.

68 *IAR*, 1958-59, pl. VI-A, p. 8.

69 The excavation at Salihundam, also yielded conches in the monastic site of which some are inscribed too. (*IAR*, 1953-54, p. 11-12, pl. XVII-A) and see also Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. XLIV-A.

70 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXVII-c.

71 Sivaramamurti, *MASI*, No. 73, p. 77.

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In early Indian art, the cymbal is depicted at many places. It appears in the sculptures of Bharhut.[72] Interestingly the relief from Jamalgarhi in Yusufzai, depicting the renunciation scene, reveals a group of girls playing on musical instruments : there a harp, a flute, drums and cymbals are shown.[73] In the Ajanta paintings[74] also many cymbals can be seen.

Apparently the idea of playing upon cymbals (*Kṁāsya-tāla*) may have originated from clapping of the hands (*kara-tāla*).

72 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, 126.

73 Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

74 Yazdani, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 17, pls. XII-XIII; 11, p. 4, pl. VII-a-b; II, p. 49, pl. XLIV-A; IV, p. 24. 26. 93.

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NINE

Weapons

"At some stage" says Harrison[1] "in his evolution from ape-like ancestors, man must have been slowly progressing from a condition in which his natural powers enabled him to maintain his place in nature to one in which, by the adoption and invention of artificial weapons and other implements, he began his progress along the high road to supremacy."

Thus the classification of weapons is to be based principally on their structure which is intimately related to their function.

The weapons depicted in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā are varied.[2] But unfortunately, many of the instances suffer rough representation, except the club, which receives comparatively a better treatment. Their rough representation sometimes makes it very difficult to ascertain the shape of the weapon. Thus, in some cases—of swords, daggers, and sticks—it is very difficult to differentiate one from another with an amount of certainty.

As pointed out by Harrison[3] "many difficulties stand in the way of an absolutely logical classification of weapons." Moreover, the weapons have not originated in accordancc with a preconceived plan, but are the result of the interaction of man's necessities, opportunities, and capabilities. However, an attempt has been made here to classify the weapons as illustrated in the reliefs. The scheme followed is very much similar to that set down by Harrison.

The chief purposes for which weapons are shaped are for offence and defence. But as Harrison[4] points out, in most of the cases these two functions cannot be performed by the same weapon. Thus; the main sub-divisions are based upon the function

1 H.S. Harrison, *War and the Chase*, London County Council Publication (1929), p. 10.

2 Krishnamurthi, K., 'Weapons of war in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā', *Artibus Asiae*, Institutc of Fine Arts, New York University, vol. XXVIII. pp. 211-218. Also vide Naik. *BDCRI*, vol. 11, Gos. 3-4. pp. 274-278 and pp. 296 and 297.

3 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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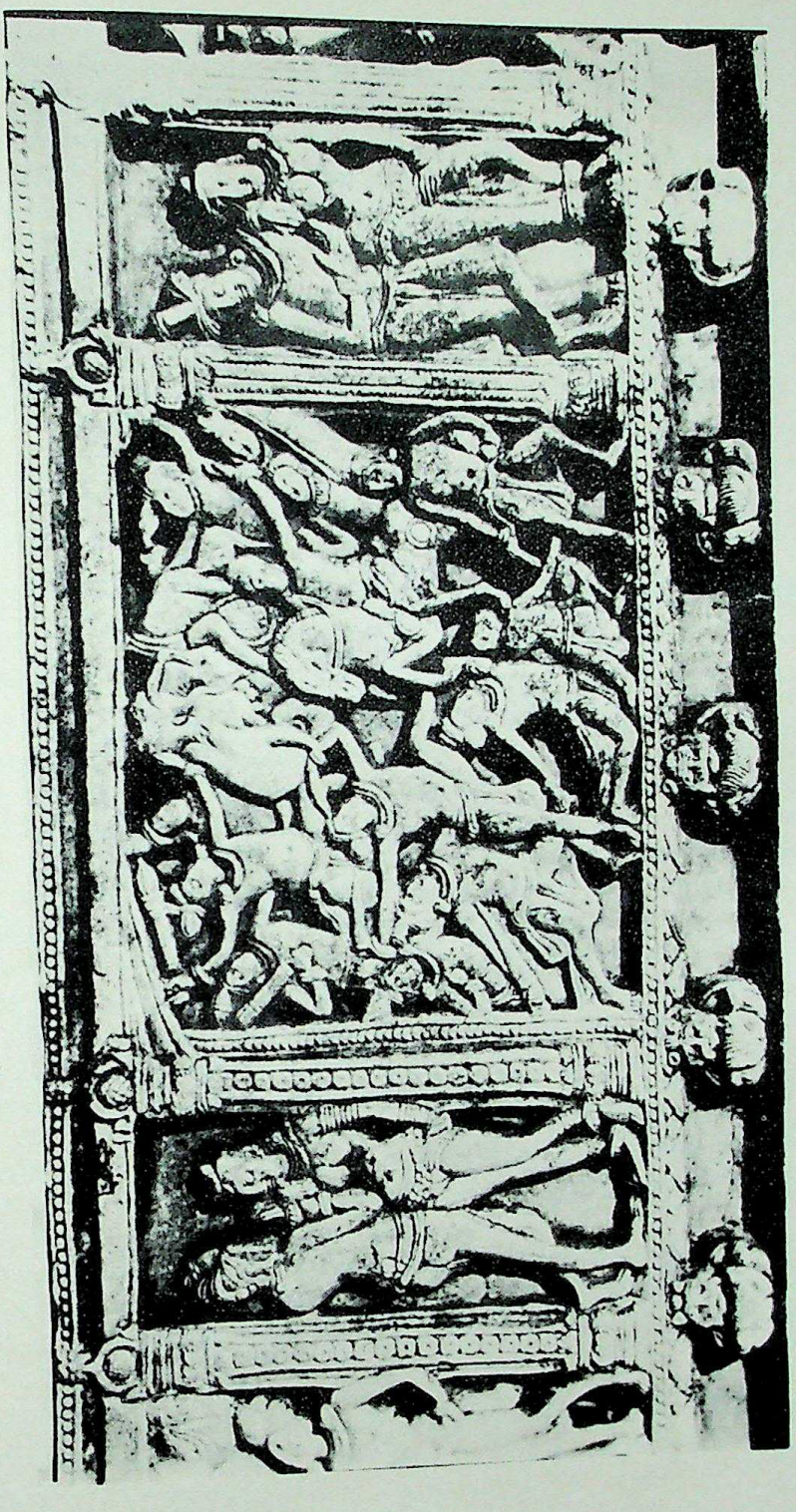

Plate XXVIII The War Scene

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of the weapon, i.e., the purpose for which it was intended to be used or the kind of wound it might produce.

The primary functions of the weapons of offence are three; namely (I) crushing or stunning, (II) piercing and (III) cutting. They are further divided into three sub-divisions on the basis of the general structure of the weapon and mode of its use. But it is very difficult to adhere to the latter division and, as such, deviation may be seen in a few cases.

The bas-reliefs represent missile-stones, clubs, maces, spears, daggers, pikes, swords, battle-axes, bows and shields; all of which, except the last, are weapons of offence. A table showing the classification of weapons - of offence and defence - as depicted in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures is on page 192

WEAPONS OF OFFENCE

I *Crushing or Stunning weapons*

The crushing weapons depicted in the reliefs include stones, sticks, clubs mace, etc.

(i) *Missile-stones thrown by hand*

"A heavy stone" says Harrison[5] 'seized on emergency may well have been amongst the earliest weapons adopted by man.' An example of a big stone used as a weapon to be thrown at the enemy comes from the panel[6] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Alavaka.' The figure standing behind the *yaksha* identified as that of Gadrabha, holds a stone apparently to attack the Buddha. The stone is spheroidal in shape and gives an impression that it was cut to shape. The stone that is shown held by Gadrabha in both hands is big and probably heavy.

Another example of a big stone used as a weapon comes from the panel illustrating '*Māravijaya* (sculpture No. 98).' A dwarf is shown holding a huge stone evidently to attack the Buddha. The very fact that he holds the stone with both the hands implies the heaviness of the stone.

Besides the big stones, small stones were also used as missiles to be thrown by hand. Thus the panel[7] depicting the war scene, (Pl. XXVIII) reveals a foot-soldier who is in the act of throwing a small missile-stone at the enemy. He is shown holding it in his right hand, and the way he has stretched his hand gives the suggestion of his throwing it at the enemy.

Naik[8] has pointed out a similar small missile-stone in the right hand of the *yaksha* depicted in the panel illustrating 'conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka.' His identification does not seem to be correct. The *yaksha* Ālavaka is holding his right-

5 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

6 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX-a.

7 Ramachandra Rao. *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.

8 Naik, *op, cit.*, Nos. 3-4, p. 276.

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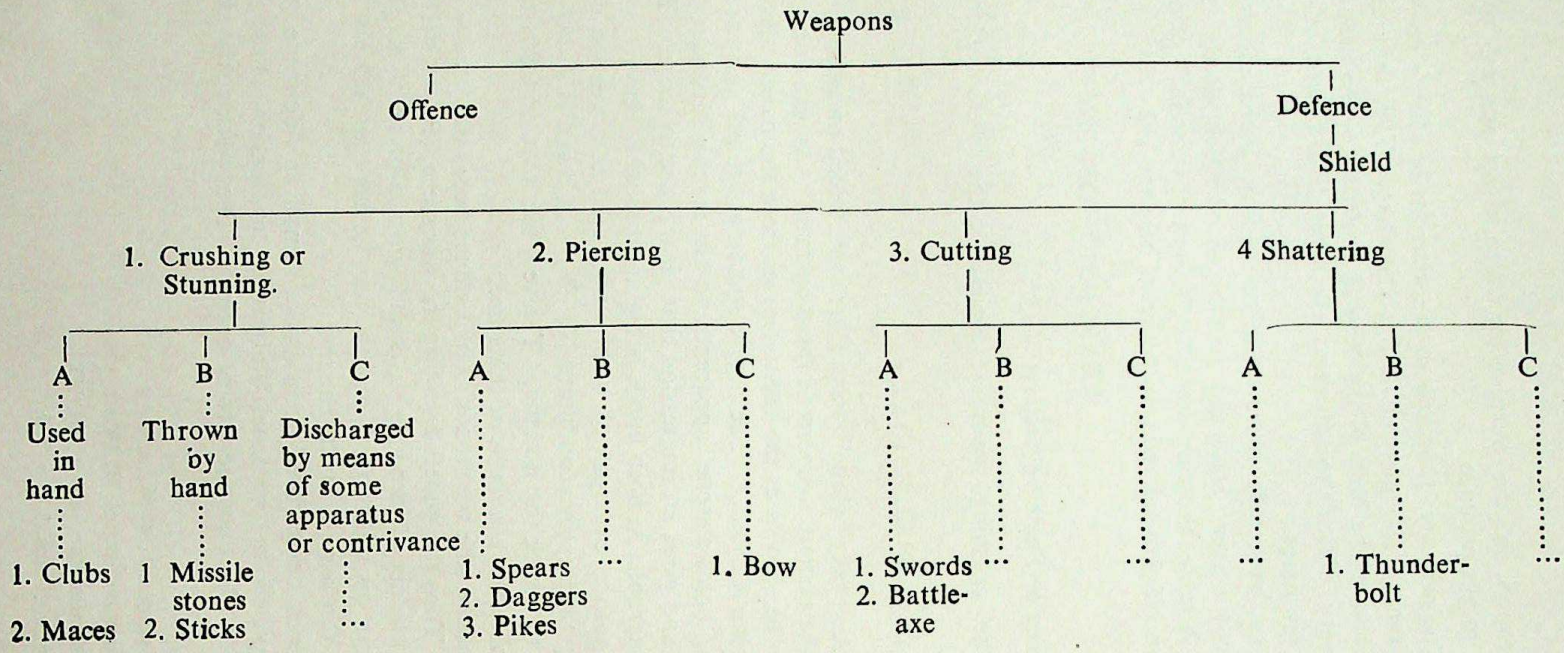
A. TABLE OF CLASSIFICATION OF WEAPONS OF OFFENCE AND DEFENCE AS DEPICTED IN NĀGĀRJUNAKOṆḌĀ SCULPTURES



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hand palm horizontally over his forehead and is in the act of looking at the Buddha who is sitting at a distance. The posture in which *yaksha* Ālavaka is seen, is the usual pose for eyeing a man from a distance. By no means the *yaksha* appears to be holding a small missile-stone in his hand as construed by Naik.

However, such stones, big or small, probably served more as missiles than as hand-weapons and hence they are called missile-stones.

(ii) *Sticks*

Sticks are merely bruising weapons, the heavy blow of which injures the skin. Heavy sticks sometimes break the bones. In this capacity the stick might have been the prototype of a club. "A stick or rude club" says Harrison[9] "consisting of a trimmed sapling or branch is a weapon which may well have had its origin in the employment of broken-off bough s or loose sticks, snatched upon emergency."

The sculpture fragment[10] illustrating the Vessantara Jātaka reveals a stick in the right hand of a Brāhmin. He is in the act of beating the children with a straight stick.

In another panel[11] illustrating 'the Buddha protected by the *nāga* Muchalinda' two persons are shown holding sticks in their hands. But in this case, the sticks are not straight, but have bends indicating thereby that they are slender branches or saplings. These may as well be broken-off boughs snatched in emergency, as construed by Harrison, for using them as weapons. Such sticks used for striking the enemy may be appropriately called 'rude clubs.' Precisely similar example is carved on the *stūpa* slab[12] discovered from *Stūpa* No. 2.

(iii) *Clubs*

The clubs represented in the reliefs fall under two categories, namely (iii-a), short clubs and (iii-b) long clubs. Both the varieties are shown, in the reliefs, generally in the hands of foot-soldiers, dwarfs, *nāgas* etc. In all probability, the short clubs may have been thrown at times as missiles. As for the material with which clubs were made, it is not possible to know from the sculptures. But one could presume them to be of wood from their ornamentations.

In a majority of cases the details of their grip portions between the shaft and the 'stop' or the 'knob,' is hidden by the fist of the holder, and hence this part of the club, shown in the illustrations is only conjectural. Invariably, the clubs are represented with 'knobs' at the end of their grips the purpose of which is to prevent it from slipping out of the hand.

(iii-a) *Short Clubs*

Short clubs represented in the reliefs present three types, namely, (a-i) the

9 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
10 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII-D.
11 *Ibid.*, pl. XV.
12 *ASIAR*, 1927-28, pl. LII.

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cylindrical (a-ii) the tapering and (a-iii) the curvilinear. In each variety, the plain as well as the ornate ones occur.

(a-i) *Cylindrical type*

The reliefs depict both plain and decorated clubs in this variety.

(a) *Plain cylindrical short clubs*

The short club of this variety is met with in the panel[13] illustrating 'the novice Sumana and the *nāga* king Pannaka'. Two *nāgas* appear with the clubs of this kind. One of them, who is shown near the feet of Sumana, is holding a plain cylindrical short club. He is holding the club horizantally supporting it by his left arm. He is in the act of throwing it at Sumana. A band is to be seen on the middle of the shaft. The rounded top of the shaft is quite distinct (*Fig. XIII, 1*). In the same panel, to the right of Sumana, is seen another *nāga* with a short, plain, cylinderical club resting on his shoulder. The club has two narrow bands carved on it—one at the grip and the other near the head.

(b) *Decorated, cylindrical, short clubs*

This kind of club is found in the panel[14] illustrating 'the novice Sumana and the *nāga* king Pannaka.' A *nāga* is shown holding a clubs of this variety. The shaft is decorated with a beaded pattern diagonally along the length of the shaft. The shaft contains a decoration on both of its terminals. Its head has a rounded top which has a multi-ribbed decoration. As usual, it contains a 'knob' or a 'stop', (*Fig. XIII, 2*). A similar example of this variety comes from the panel[15] depicting 'the war scene.' A foot-soldier is seen holding this weapon. In this case also the multi-ribbed decoration on the head of the club can be seen clearly.

It is apparent from the sculptures, that this variety of club is seen frequently used by the *nāga* warriors and at times by the foot-soldiers.

(a-ii) *Tapering type*

The sculptures reveal only a decorated variety in this type. However, it may not mean that the plain ones were not known.

(a) *Decorated, tapering short clubs*

This kind of club is found in the panel[16] illustrating 'the war scene.' A foot-soldier appears with it. The club noticed is a decorated weapon held in one hand. The decoration near the 'knob' on the shaft includes two narrow bands while the top of the shaft contains a beaded pattern flanked by deeply carved rims. Its head is ribbed. (*Fig. XIII, 3*).

13 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVII-a.

14 *Ibid.*,pl. XXXVII-a.

15 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIII-b. The same has been identified as was scene by Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.

16 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII-b.

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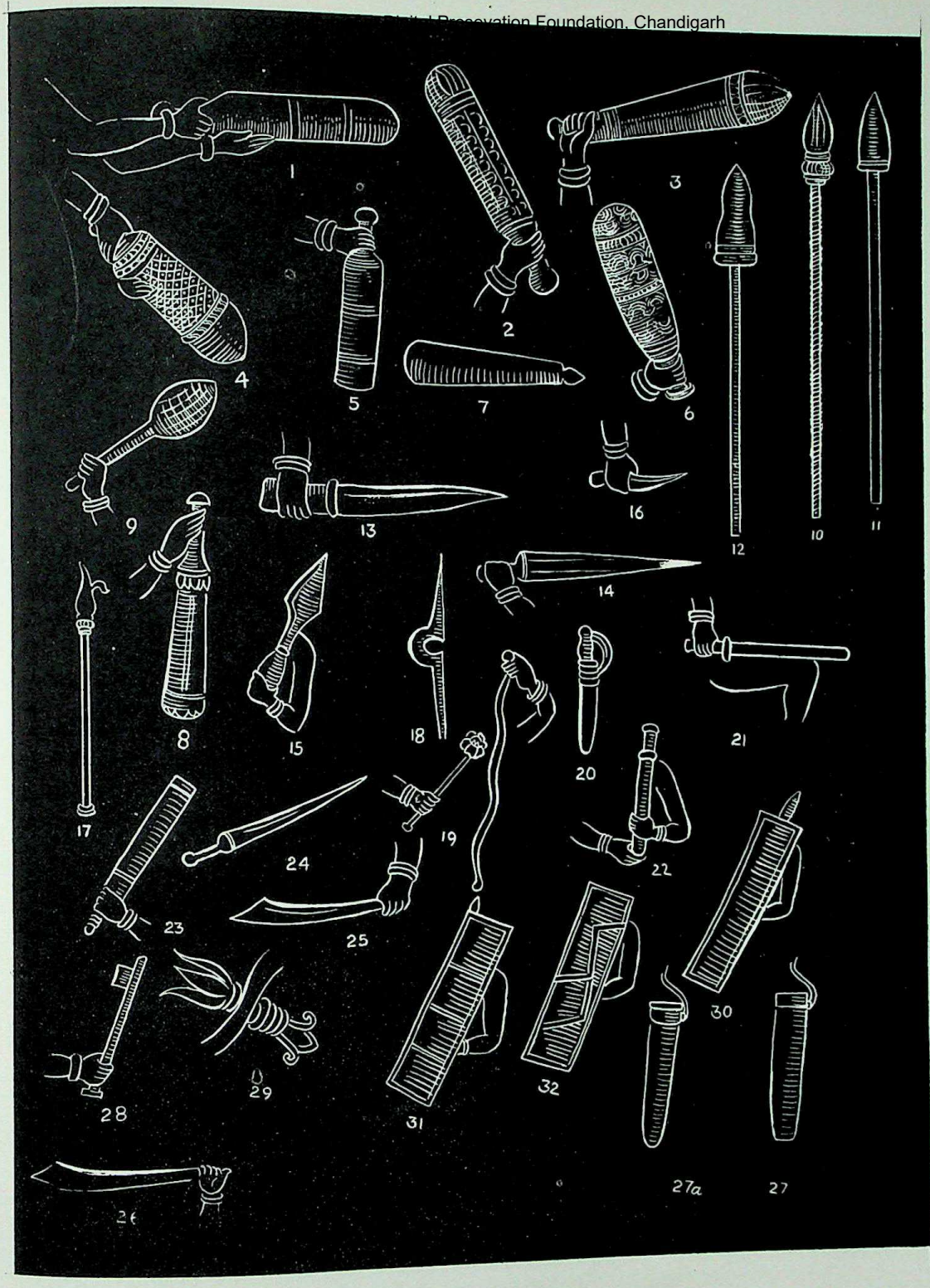

Fig. XIII Weapons

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(a-iii) *Curvilinear type*

In this item also only the decorated variety occurs in the reliefs.

(a) *Decorated, curvilinear, short clubs*

A beautiful example of this variety occurs in the panel[17] illustrating 'Māra's assault.' A dwarf is shown holding this type of club with both the hands, which indicates its heaviness and massiveness. The club is profusely ornamented and presents a very pleasing variety. The rings that separate the conical terminal and the shaft are decorated with bead-pattern; the broad band, that separates the shaft and the head, contains a cable-pattern decoration. It is bordered with rims on upper and lower sides. The shaft is decorated with a criss-cross pattern with dots. Two incised lines, starting from the middle of the band, join at the apex (*Fig. XIII, 4*). This elaborate decoration on the club highly bespeaks the aesthetic sense of the people who manufactured it.

(iii-b) *Long Clubs*

The long clubs represented in the reliefs are more or less the enlargements of the short types. All the types of the short clubs, namely, the cylindrical, the tapering and the curvilinear, are also available in the long clubs. There is no marked difference in both the varieties except in their length.

(b-i) *Cylindrical type*

The general discription of the short cylindrical clubs also holds good for this type. As seen in the case of short ones, here also, both plain and ornate varieties are available.

(a) *Plain, cylindrical long clubs*

An example of this kind appears in the panel[18] illustrating 'Sagata and the *nāga* of the mango ferry.' A *nāga* is shown holding a club of this kind. The grip and the shaft in this case are separated by two narrow bands. The shaft also contains similar bands and except this dectoration, the club is plain. Its head, with a rounded top, is the continuation of the shaft (*Fig. XIII, 5*).

(b) *Decorated, cylindrical, long clubs*

A club of this variety is found in the panel[19] depicting 'Māra's assault'. A dwarf is shown holding a club of this variety. This club is profusely decorated and perhaps the finest of the specimen that Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs offer. The grip of this club is separated from the shaft by a pair of rings. The entire shaft on the head

17 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-b.

18 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII-a.

19 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-b.

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is richly decorated with floral design—divided in three panels—by two rows of beaded pattern. The head in this case is but the continuation of the shaft.

The decorations, in this case found on the shaft and the head are not human figures in low relief as construed by Naik. They are the rich floral designs which give the appearance of the letter 'M' surmounted by another letter looking like 'W', or horizontal zigzags. The design is new and quite interesting. (*Fig. XIII, 6*).

(b-ii) *Tapering type*

As seen in the case of the cylindrical type, here also the general description of the short club of the tapering type remains the same. The two usual varities, namely the plain and the decorated, are available.

(a) *Plain tapering long clubs*

An example of this variety is carved on the ornate pillar[20] from the palace site. The club depicted here gives a different picture. In this instance, instead of the usual 'knob,' a pointed bulge is to be seen. There is no separate grip. The shaft Widens at the striking end with rounded top. The club is devoid of any decoration, (*Fig. XIII, 7*).

(b) *Decorated tapering long clubs*

This variety is found in the panel[21] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka.' The club is held by a dwarf in his right hand. The grip of the club is slender with a 'knob' at the end and separated by a band: above this band can be seen a beaded pattern. From this the shaft extends with a bulged round top. The band on the shaft, and ribs on the head, are quite distinct (*Fig. XIII, 8*).

(iv) *Mace*

A single instance of this weapon is noticed in the reliefs. A panel[22] illustrating the Śibi Jātaka reveals a male attendant with a weapon of this kind, (*Fig. XIII, 9*). It is held in both the hands probably, because of its heaviness. The weapon rests on his shoulder. The mace shows two distinct parts, namely the head and the shaft. The head is ovoidal in shape and is curved. The shaft is long, slender, and devoid of any decoration.[23] This bulbous and ovoidal shaped head of the mace differentiates it

20 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. X-a.

21 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX-a.

22 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-a.

23 Stone-headed maces are still used in New Guinea and New Britain, and the type also survived down to recent times in Africa. In these parts, the stone is perforated for the wooden shaft and is fashioned into various shapes. The mace represented in the relief does not seem to be of this type, and perhaps it represents the mace made entirely of metal. The mace made entirely of metal or having metal head is characteristic of the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Asia and Europe. According to Harrison the maces of India which persisted in use till a much later date than did those of Europe, were similar to those of Persia (Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 21.)

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from the club which has less bulged and curved head. Maces were made of wood and metal in ancient times.

The excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have uncovered many stone or copper maces; their commonest form being the pear shaped ones recalling parallel examples from Elam, Mesopotamia and Egypt.[24]

Kauṭilya refers to three kinds of maces—*musala, yaṣṭi,* and *gadā;* the first two were pointed and made of *Khadira* wood and the last one was long and heavy. According to him the mace could be hurled at the enemy though usually it was taken to be a weapon of the non-missile class.[25] Arrian records that the mace was the chief weapon of the Śibī tribe.[26]

Its sculptural representation in Indian art is quite interesting and some of the clubs represented in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs also occur in the sculptures of Amaravati[27] and Sanchi.[28] The mace has been depicted on the *Chakravikrama* type of coin of Chandragupta II.[29]

PIERCING WEAPONS

The piercing weapons that the reliefs have depicted include (i) spears (ii) daggers and (iii) bows. The frequency of depiction of the arrows is much less when compared to that of bows. Only in one instance an arrow is depicted in the whole range of the reliefs. But one can safely infer the existence of arrows from the depiction of the bows.

(i) *Spears : prāsa(s)*

The reliefs depict Scythian warriors,[30] *yakshas,*[31] cavalry men[32] and foot soldiers[29] with spears. The spears found in the sculptures are all composite and comprise a head and a handle or shaft (*yashṭi*). Three varieties of spears, namely, (a) the concave, (b) the convex, and (c) the scalloped are seen, of these the first one is frequently sculptured.

24 J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization,* Vol. 1 (London, 1931), I, p. 36; also R.C. Majumdar, and A.D. Pusalkar, *The Vedic Age.*, London 1951, p. 178.

25 *Arthaśāstra,* 11. 18; cf. *Raghuvaṁśa,* vii, 52.

26 R.C. Majumdar, *The Classical Accounts of India* (Calcutta, 1960), p. 136.

27 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. X, fig. 15, 18.

28 F.C. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains,* London, 1932, pl. XXXV, 35; Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi,* II, pl. 61.

29 Vidyaprakash, 'Some Aspects of Material Life on Gupta Coins', *JNSI,* XXIII, No. 8. pl. VIII.

30 Longhurst, *op. cit* , pl. X-c.

31 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-b and XLIX-b.

32 *Ibid.*, pl. X-a.

33 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. LV; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

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(a) *Concave headed spear*

This variety of spear is found in the hands of a Scythian warrior carved on one of the palace pillars.[34] He is holding it in his right hand. The head of the spear consists of a pointed blade presumably with a sharpe edge. Its outline is concave near the point and becomes bulged near the base. The presence of a mid-rib is to be seen clearly on the blade of the spear. The head is fixed to the shaft in a socket and hence the socket covers the tang of the shaft : the socket is ornamented with a beaded pattern bordered with rims on the upper and lower sides.

The shaft is decorated with a spiral ridge or thread running round the whole surface; it gives the appearance of a twisted rope design. Thus the spear is profusely ornamented (*Fig. XIII, 10*) in contrast to the other plainer varieties noticed in the relief. A noteworthy feature of this spear is that it is held by a Scythian warrior; suggesting its possible foreign origin : this spear may not be indigenious. The plain variety sculptured elsewhere in the reliefs appears to be local.

That the spear was used, at times, by the people of high rank is known from the panel[35] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka' Yaksha Alavaka is shown holding a spear in his left hand. It is a general tendency, in the reliefs, to find clubs and spears used by the soldiers and attendants. But as a deviation to this general rule the *yaksha*, Ālavaka, appears with a spear in his hand. Otherwise it is the sword that is usually seen used by the nobility or persons of high rank. The spear in this case also is similar to the one described above.

(b) *Convex headed spear*

This type of spear can be seen carved on a pillar[36] from the palace site. It is seen held by a horseman while riding. It is the only instance where a spear is used by a cavalry man. As seen in case of the concave shaped spear this spear also has a sharp edge, and a point at the apex. It has a convex outline and a base. Its blade has a tang at the base which is inserted into the shaft. The shaft in this case is uniform (*Fig. XIII, 11*).

(c) *Scalloped headed spear*

A solitary example of this variety comes from the panel[37] illustrating 'conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka.' He is shown holding it in his left hand and is about to pierce the Buddha with it. The head of this spear consists of a pointed blade, with sharp edges, and a collar by which the head is secured to the shaft. The blade of the

34 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. X-c; cf. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV.

35 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-b.

36 *Ibid.*, pl. X-a; cf. Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII; Puri, *op. cit.*, illustration No. 2; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, (Khaṇḍagirī- Udayagirī), 53; (Amarāvatī) 92-b; cf. also *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, No. 63. fig. 25 f. p. 17.

37 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX-b.

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spear has two bulbous portions[38] without any rib. While describing a scalloped Egyptian spear-head, Petrie[39] remarks "this could not add to its attacking powers, it seems to have been imitation of damages received in hand-fight."

The collar is a simple device applied to prevent the shaft from splitting. It consists of two rings, presumably, fitted or rivetted to the shaft: the shaft of the spear is a rough pole without a grip for the hand. The weapon is plain and without ornamentation (*Fig. XIII, 12*).

It is possible that the pointed digging-stick was the beginning of the spear. However, a variety of spears appears chiefly among the savage races.[40] Speaking about the spears, Harrison[41] remarks, "in any case, the spear is a weapon of great antiquity, since there have been found amongst some of the early remains of man's life and industries, undoubted spear-heads of bone, and in one case the point of a wooden spear of still greater age."

In the sculptures of Sanchi,[42] Amaravati,[43] and Goli[44] there are admirable depictions of spears and javelins.

(ii) *Daggers : chhurika(s)*

Another category of the piercing weapon is the dagger which has an edge as well as a point. The primary function of a dagger is stabbing.

Four distinct types of daggers can be made out from the bas-reliefs. They include daggers with (a) horn blade, (b) wedge-shaped blade, (c) leaf-shaped blade, and (d) convex shaped blade.

(a) *Dagger with horn blade*

This variety of the dagger differs vastly from the other types in having only the point. The blade imitates a short horn of some animal. In India daggers of buffalo horn are sometimes used and the shape of these weapons has been imitated in metal.

Since this type of dagger is in imitation of a horn it must have been used only far piercing. The interesting feature of this dagger is the rear portion of the blade. It is round and with gradually increasing circumference. It enlarges the wound

38 From the point at the apex, the outline begins to bulge, but it converges as it nears the middle of the blade, and a little below that again it starts bulging till it is terminated at the base by a collar. The outline on either side makes two bends. The whole thing gives scalloped appearance.

39 Petrie, Tools and Weapons, p. 31.

40 Baden-Powell, B.H., 'Indian Arms and Armour', *Journal of Indian Art and Industries*, Vol. VI, (1896), p. 104.

41 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

42 Maisey, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV, 29-24; VI 2; XX; XXVII; Marshall and Foucher, *Sanchi*, II, pls. 15, 61.

43 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. X, fig. 1 and pl. XXVII, fig. 1, a.

44 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli Sculptures), pl. IV-A.

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made by the point and tears the skin as it enters the body till its onslaught is stopped by the handle. The surface of the horn blade, which had a metallic cover, was probably polished.

The handle appears to be of a wooden piece in which is fixed the tang of the blade. The middle of the handle seems to have been whittled in order to provide a firm grip. As a result the outline of the handle offers slightly concave edges. Either end of the handle is provided with a ring, to prevent the dagger from slipping, the ring at the lower end is larger than the one on the upper and it serves probably the function of the pommel.

The bas-reliefs depict two such horn-blade shaped daggers, showing them in action. Thus the panel[45] illustrating 'the war scene' reveals two foot-soldiers actually engaged in battle with such dagger. They are shown in the act of assaulting the enemy with these daggers (*Fig. XIII, 13*).

(b) *Dagger with wedge-shaped blade or the straight-edged blade*

This type of dagger is represented twice in the bas-reliefs. The panel representing 'a prince in his palace'[46] and an inscribed pillar[47] found near the *Stūpa* No. 9, reveal daggers of this kind. In the panel depicting 'the prince in a palace,' a female guard is shown holding a dagger having a wedge-shaped blade. A soldier on the inscribed pillar is also shown holding a similar dagger.

The sides of these blades taper towards their piercing-ends till they meet in a sharp point. Perhaps their edges were sharp which rendered the weapon useful both for cutting and piercing (*Fig. XIII, 14*).

This type is somewhat similar to the *katar* or *kuttar* class of dagger (*mushilikas*) except for its handle.[48] The *katar* is a steel dagger with a unique hilt. In the present case the handle if different; instead of a handle, it has a boss on the end.

(c) *Dagger with a leaf-shaped blade*

An example of this variety is found in the panel[49] illustrating the Śibi Jātaka. A royal guard is shown holding this weapon. It is rhomboidal in outline and its length gives the appearance of a long leaf. The shape of the blade is such that it offers both concave and convex sides. It is sharp and pointed. The upper part of the blade has concave sides, while the lower one has convex sides. On the convex surface is to be seen the midrib and the collar or ferrule.

The weapon must have been very effective and terrible due to its sharp edges on four sides. The first two convex sides do the work of enlarging the wound made by the sharp point during the forward motion. While the latter two concave edges

45 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII-b.

46 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-a.

47 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XXXI-a.

48 Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 319-20 and p. 324 Wood No. 153; see also *Journal of Indian Art and Industries*, Vol. VI, Plate 85, figs. 27, 36.

49 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-a.

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do the same work when the dagger is drawn back. The blade is probably turned when it is fully penetrated into the body and the hollow surface possibly torn out the flesh (*Fig. XIII, 15*),

The blade probably had a tang covered by the handle. The handle was probably of wood and contained a pommel at the lower end. This pommel at the lower end and the ferrule at the upper possibly prevented splitting of the wood.

A more clear example of this leaf-shaped blade can be seen in the same panel,[50]—in the hand of the king Śibi. He is shown cutting his own flesh. Here the dagger, serving the purpose of cutting, is indicated. The shape of the blade of this dagger is more akin to the shape of a long leaf.

A blade of this type is somewhat similar to that of a Cretan dagger.[51] But the Cretan dagger has rounded sides unlike the angular one noticed in the hand of the royal guard in the panel. The blade of the dagger noticed in the hand of the king Śibi is somewhat roundish.

This kind of a dagger, or more correctly, a small sword is identified as the *asiputrika*[52] by Sivaramamurti. Similar examples are found in the Amaravati sculptures.[53]

(d) *Dagger with curved-blade*

A panel illustrating 'Māraś assault' depicts a dagger *(chhurikā)* of this type. A dwarf is shown holding it in his right hand: its blade is curved and pointed. The pommel and ferrule are distinctly seen. Since the handle portion is covered by the palm of the dwarf the details regarding it are not known. This is the best specimen of the *chhurikā* depicted in the reliefs (*Fig. XIII, 16*). In another example, depicted in sculpture No.92,[54] it is seen placed in an embillished sheath (*Koṣa*).

A pillar[55] from the palace site depicts a person with a dagger in each of his hands. They are held in vertical position with pointed ends at the top. The purpose for which he is holding the daggers in this position is difficult to ascertain. However, his posture gives the impression that he is ready for a dagger fight.

These *chhurikās* may be the ancient forms of the modern *kukrī* of Nepal. The *kukrī* of the Gurkhas is a sword-knife with a convex blade expanding so that a large part of the cutting edge is also convex. Speaking about this *kukrī* Harrison[56] says "It is used in hunting as well as in war, and armed with this weapon alone the Gurkha will kill a tiger single-handed." These small sword-daggers with curved blades are also called *bichhua* or *(bichhwā)* which means a scorpian.

50 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-a.

51 Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

52 Sivaramamurti, *op, cit.*, p. 125.

53 *Ibid.*, pl. X, fig. 2.

54 *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 214, and fig. 19.

55 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. LV.

56 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

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The daggers or *chhurikas* are mentioned in the *Milindapanha*[57] and the *Daśakumāracarita*[58]. The Amaravati sculptures[59] and some of the ivories from Begram[60] reveal *chhurikas* similar to those found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

(iii) *Pike*[61]*: Śūla*

The panel[62] illustrating 'Māraś assault' reveals Māra riding an elephant with a *śūla* in his hand. It has a double forked head with a ferrule at its lower end. To this, a shaft *(yashṭi)* is added. The ferrule at the upper and pommel at the lower end of the shaft prevents the shaft from splitting. (*Fig. XIII, 17*). The purpose of this *śūla* in this case is to urge the elephant. Hence it can be called *totra* or *ankuśa* (goad) which is generally used to urge the animal by the *hastipakas*. One such *ankuśa* is held by Māra.

Another *ankuśa* or *totra* (goad) of a different shape occurs in sculpture No. 260.[63] It also has a pointed end. In this case the weapon is not composite. The shaft is the continuation of the head. At the end of the head starts the bend and it continues into a shaft as shown in the illustration (*Fig. XIII, 18*).

The single-bladed *śūla* was differentiated by name from the triple-forked *triśūla* (trident). Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra (11,18) mentions both the types, classifying the pike among weapons with ploughshare-like edges, *halamukha*, which were put under moveable machines.

(iv) *Bow Arrow: cāpa and śara and quiver*

Of the ancient arms of offence the bow was the weapon *par excellence*. Unfortunately the bas-reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā do not depict the bow and the arrow frequently. The bow is represented in four instances while the arrow has only a solitary illustration.

Arrows are of the nature of small light spears. In origin they are not related to the spears meant for throwing. Bows on the other hand are very distinctive appliances. Hence the arrow (missile) and the bow (the discharging appliance) are treated separately.

(iv-a) *Arrow śara(s)*

An arrow is represented only in the panel[64] illustrating 'Māra's Assault' (*Fig. XIII, 19*). *Māra* is shown holding an arrow in his right hand while his left hand holds

57 *Milindapanha*, ii, p. 227, Text, p. 339.

58 *Kumāracarita*, p. 102.

59 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. X, fig. 9.

60 *JISO*, vol. XVI, (1948), fig. 77.

61 It may be noted that pike is not understood as a weapon of offence. Here it is included merely as a weapon since they occur in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs.

62 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII-b; cf. Auboyer, *JISOA*, XVI, pl, IX, 78, and p. 40.

63 *AA*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212, fig. 4.

64 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-A.

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a bow. Even this arrow is not fully visible. However, the shaft and the terminal of the arrow can be made out. The fore-shaft portion remains conjectural.

(a-i) *Shaft*

The shaft which constitutes the greater part of the length of the arrow was probably made of reed, cane, or of light wood.

(a-ii) *Shaft terminal*

The represented arrow has a butt attached to the end of the shaft by lashing and gum. The butt was a separate piece probably of wood with a flower design. It is interesting to note that arrows with decorations on the shafts and fore parts are still being used in Melanesia.[65]

(a-iii) *fore-shaft*

As this portion of the arrow is not visible in the panel it is difficult to ascertain its details. Generally, it is made of heavier wood, bone, or metal. It usually accommodates, for some distance, into the cavity of the shaft when it is made of reed. It is further secured by means of a lashing strengthened with a coating of gum. Feathering may be absent in those arrows in which trueness of flight is ensured by a heavy shaft. The absence of such feathering in the arrow depicted in the relief may denote a heavy fore-shaft to it. However, this is only conjectural.

Two kinds of arrows namely *Vāiṇava* (made of reeds) and *āyasa* or *nārāca* (made of iron) are mentioned in the epics.[66] The feathers used for the arrow-ends were of various kinds and included those of hawks, flemingos and herons. These features were intended to stabilize the arrow's flight.[67] According to Kālidāsa some arrows had iron-points, and the feather ends in order that they might go forth swiftly.[68]

Of the size and make of arrows we get full description in the *Agnipurāṇa*. According to it, "Arrows should be made of bamboos, which must be free from spots. They should be straight, golden coloured, and have feathers of birds attached to their lower extemeties."[69] The length of arrows (*iṣus*) varied greatly. But the most approved measurement was three cubits or 120 cms.

The classical writers have also noted the length for arrows. Thus, according to Strabo,[70] it was three cubits long. Rufus[71] records two cubit long arrows for hunting purposes.

65 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

66 Hopkin, *JAOS*, vol. XIII, (1903), p. 275; *Majjhima Nikāya* gives names such as *Vekanda*, *Karavirapatta*, etc. (Warren, *Buddhism in translations*, Harvard Orient Series, 3, (U.S.A., 19[illegible]15), pp. 120-121.

67 Hopkin, *op, cit.*, vol. XIII, p. 276. Also see *Majjhima Nikāya*, *op. cit.*, p. 120-121.

68 Ku[illegible] 55.

69 Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

70 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 208

71 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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(iv-b) *Bows*

Bows appear only in four instances in the reliefs. Even the represented specimens are such that they do not give any detailed information except merely indicating the existence of the bow during the Ikshvāku period. Only the staves are distinct in the reliefs: from these, two distinct type of bows, namely, (a) the plain or (self) bow and (b) the compound or tripple-curved bow can be made out.

(a) *The plain or (self) bow*

Speaking about the 'self' bow in general Harrison[72] observes "the self bow made from one piece of elastic wood, and strung with a strip of rattan or cane, with raw-hide, or with cord made from animal sinews or vegetable fibres, may be regarded as the typical weapon of this class." One such bow is depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs. It is a simple straight-stave, probably, of elastic bamboo, and when strung offers a big bend.

On one of the āyaka cornice stones[73] is carved a plain or (self) bow; a person is shown holding it in his left hand. As the representation shows a curved stave of the bow it may be safely presumed that the bow represented in the relief is a strung bow inspite of the absence of its string. Its stave is of great length.

Such lengthy bows are known from the epic times. In the *Mahābhārata*[74] a bow of *tāla-mātra* length or palm-long,' or presumably six cubits in length is referred. According to Egerton,[75] five feet is the ordinary length of the Hindu bow.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Chenchus, who at present inhabit the Kṛishṇā valley and its environs are to be seen using plain or the 'self' bow and barbed type of arrows.[76] They constantly carry bows and arrows in their hands. The plain bow in our bas-reliefs closely resembles the one used by the present day Chenchus.[77]

(b) *The compound or triple-curved bow*

The stave of this bow has an inward bulge in the middle which constitutes the grip. The shape of the bow resembles segments of three circles; the string (*jyā*) was probably fastened to its ends by making holes in it. However, no remarkable difference is to be noticed in the two states of the bow i.e., strung or unstrung. This type of stave could not have been of one piece of wood or bamboo, but was built up of two or more pieces, usually of wood or of horn. Thus, it is difficult to distinguish a

59 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

72 [illegible]ghurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII-c; cf. in *JNSI*, vol. 23, fig. 84.

73 Lon[illegible]kins, *JAOS*, vol. XIII, p. 270; cf. J.W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Mega[illegible]*
[illegible]t ma[illegible] (Calcutta, 1969), p. 225.

74 Hop[illegible]arely as a weapon sinc[illegible]
thenes and Arr[illegible]*op. cit.*, pl. XXII-b; cf. [illegible]

75 Hopkins, *op. c*[illegible]

76 Thurston, *op. cit.*, [illegible]pp. 27-28; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. III-b.

77 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. III-b.

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compound bow from a composite one from the sculptures.[78]

The panel[79] illustrating 'Māraś Assault' reveals an unstrung compound or triple curved bow in Māra's left hand; (*Fig.XIII, 19*) his right hand holds an arrow. The bow is made to rest vertically with its top end held in his left hand. Māra is standing with his right leg kept aslant and firm while his left leg is kept akimbo and a few inches apart from his right. This may resemble the *vikaṭa* posture for an archer enumerated in the *Agnipurāṇa*.[80] As seen, this bow is a compound bow, its stave has an inward bulge in the middle. The shape of the bow includes segments of three circles. This bow (Cupid's bow) was probably made up of several pieces; the centre piece being sometimes of horn. The parts were strongly joined together with binding of raw hide and the whole thing was generally painted and varnished.[81] However, painting and varnish on the bows cannot be made out from the sculptures. It is interesting to note that the bows of this kind are still presented on ceremonial occasions by the chiefs of the Simla Hill states.

A similar example of this type of bow comes from the panel[82] illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow.' Siddhārtha is exhibiting his valour by doing feats with a mighty compound bow. He is shown sitting in the *lalitāsana* posture with the bow kept horizontally in both hands. The conjoint bow has bends or curves as seen in the case of the ones above.

Evidently, the bow is made of pieces of which one such is held in his hands, while the other is shown dangling vertically. He appears to have controlled the bow by bending it.

Nowhere in the sculptures the strings (*jyas*) of the bows are to be seen and hence, they remain only to be conjectured. The epics assert that the string (*jyā*) of the bow should be made of *mūrva*-grass.[83]

This type of the compound bow rarely occurs in Indian art. Russel Smith[84] credits the Scythians as the first inventors of the compound bow and probably it was through them it got introduced into India in the second century B.C. Thus, it occurs rarely at Sanchi, Amaravati, and later at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, etc. The compound bow only becomes common in the Gupta period and is depicted on the 'lion-slayer' and the 'tiger-slayer' types of coins of Samudrgupta.[85]

78 According to Brose the compound bow was made of two pieces of the same material joined together. The composite bow was made of a combination of different materials. Quoted by P.K. Gode, *BDCRI*, vol. VIII, p. 34, from *Technical Arts and Science of the Ancients* by Albert Neuberger (Eng. Trans. by Henry L. Brose, 1930), pp. 218-221.

79 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-a.

80 Quoted from the *Agnipurāṇa* by Mitra, *op. cit.*, 1, p. 305.

81 Baden Powell, *op. cit.*, V, p. figs. 96 and 100.

82 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII-a.

83 Hopkins, *op. cit.*, *JAOS*, XIII, p. 270.

84 Quoted by P K. Gode, *op. cit.*, vol. VIII, p. 38.

85 Vidyaprakash, *JNSI*, vol. XXIII, p. 284 and fig. 77.

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(iv-c) *Quiver*

Although the quivers (*tūṇīra*) are not represented in the reliefs their existence can be surmised from the presence of bows. Moreover, contemporary sculptures like those at Goli do reveal quivers along with the 'self' bow.[86]

THE CUTTING WEAPONS

The bas-reliefs represent two varieties of cutting weapons, namely, the sword and the battle-axe. The swords are illustrated frequently than the latter which gets its sole depiction only once in the reliefs. The swords are designed either for cutting or for piercing or for both purposes.

Swords illustrated in the reliefs can be classified into two classes, namely, (i) cutting swords and (ii) thrusting swords. The sword sheaths are treated separately.

(i) *Swords*

(1-a) *Cutting swords*

Two types (a) round-headed swords (*maṇḍalāgras*), and (b) flat tip-headed swords (*asiyashṭis*) are met with in the reliefs.

(a) *Round-headed swords: maṇḍalāgra(s)*

The swords which have rounded heads or tips, instead of pointed or square tips are included in this variety. This type of sword comes from the panel[87] illustrating the Dighīti Kosala Jātaka : Dighavu is shown holding it by inserting his left wrist in the loop as shown in the illustration. The sword seems to have been designed evidently for cutting as it does not have a sharp point for thrusting. As can be seen the sword is sheathed but its nature can be guessed from the shape of its sheath and the position of the wrist-loop. The blade may have been fixed to the hilt by means of a tang.

That the hilt of the sword was whittled at the middle can be known from the outline of the grip which is seen slightly concave. The end of the grip is provided with a 'pommel.' This pommel does a double function—of preventing the sword from slipping and of a counterpoise. The wrist-loop as seen is unusually large for a wrist and is presumably attached to the grip extremities (*Fig. XIII, 20*).

Again a naked sword with rounded head but without a wrist-loop is found in the right hand of king Śibi in the panel[88] illustrating the Śibi-jātaka. Apparently this sword was designed for cutting; as the panel reveals king Śibi cutting his own flesh from his thighs (*Fig. XIII, 21*).

86 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), pl. VII-A-3.

87 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-a.

88 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII-a.

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The hilt of this sword is simple, round, and of a tapering rod with a pommel. It appears that the blade and the hilt were of the same make in which case the sword was of a solid one.

The blade has an irregular outline. It is scalloped on both the edges near the hilt. Thus in shape it is concave in the upper half—(i.e.) between the hilt and the middle of the blade—and convex thereafter upto the tip.

Presumably the sword was sharp at the edge only, as the portion visible appears to be unusually thick. As Harrison points[89] out, "Asia is the home of the curved sword with one edge. Plain, curved, single-edged blades are still found in Assam, Burma, Japan, China and other parts of Eastern Asia".[90]

That this type of sword was also used by the Amazons or *pratīhāris* can be known from the panel[91] illustrating 'a prince in this palace.' The sword is shown held in her left hand and the tip of the blade is resting on her right palm. This sword has been described by Longhurst as "a short broad-sword of semi-Roman pattern." The head of the blade is rounded (*maṇḍalāgara*) and the hilt is slender and probably fastened to the blade by means of a tang; the head of the hilt contains a pommel (*Fig. XIII, 22.*)

These swords, with rounded heads, may represent the *maṇḍalāgra*[92] type of swords as identified by Sivaramamurti. Probably this is the type of sword referred by Arrian when he says that some Indians wear "A sword which is broad in the blade but not longer than three cubits, and this, when engaged in close fights (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands to fetch down a lustier blow."[93]

(b) *Flat-tip headed sword: (asiyashṭi (s)*

The swords which have flat heads or tops with broad or tapering blades are included in this variety.

(b-i) *Broad sword with a mid-rib and square tip: asiyashṭi (s)*

This variety of sword is found in the panel[94] illustrating 'the admission of the six Śākya princes and the barber Upālī to the order.' Solely meant for cutting its broad and long blade is flat at the top: the two lines running from the hilt to the tip indicate the mid-rib. It appears that the blade was probably sharp on both the edges and fastened to the hilt by means of a tang, in all probability the tang was the continuation of the mid-rib. (*Fig, XIII, 23*).

89 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

90 Curved, single edged, sabre-like swords derived from Asiatic type were also in use in the time of the Crusades, and are still employed. See Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

91 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXX-a.

92 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

93 The *Arthaśāstra* mentions three types of swords, namely, (i) *nistriṁśa* (ii) *maṇḍalāgra* and (iii) *asiyashṭi*, p. 122.

94 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-b.

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An instance where a minister is shown holding a sword of flat tip is revealed in the panel[95] illustrating 'conversion of the Śākya Princes.' It is a scabbarded sword presumably fastened to the waist. The sword is long with a flat tip and has a pommel.

(b-ii) *Swords with tapering blades*

There appears to be no difference between this type and the preceding one except that it had a tapering blade without a mid-rib. A solitary specimen of this variety occurs in the panel[96] illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka. The minister of the king of Banaras is shown holding a scabbarded sword of this kind (Pl. XXIX).

A sword slightly different from the above in shape occurs in the panel[97] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka.' Ālavaka is seen holding a sword in his left hand. The sword has a straight blade tapering towards the hilt and widening towards the tip. The tip of this sword is flattened and chamfered as shown in the illustration. Thus the sword has, in fact, three sides. The blade was probably sharp on the two smaller sides and thick on the third. This sword has no separate grip but the blade is blunt at the portion near the quillons. It has two quillons in the place of the pommel, which prevented the sword from slipping off.

These swords which flat tips can be identified as *asiyashṭi*.

(i-b) *Thrusting swords*

The thrusting swords or rapiers that are represented in the reliefs are of different types. Usually a rapier has sharp edges besides having a point; the narrower the blade of the rapier, the swifter and more effective is its action,

(a) *Straight-bladed rapier*

A rapier of this type is found in the panel[98] illustrating 'the lady Amarā and the four wise men. In this the king of Banaras is shown with a sheath which is fastened to the waist presumably by means of a strap; he is holding the sheath with his left hand. Near his throne, leaning against the *pādapīṭha*, is to be seen a rapier.

The hilt of this rapier has a slender grip with a pommel at the terminal. The pommel appers to be heavy and serving the purpose of a counterpoise (*Fig. XIII, 24*). This weapon closely resembles, in shape, the Cypriot rapier.[99]

A pointed sword (*śūlāgra*), slightly different from the above, is depicted on the *āyaka* cornice stone.[100] Its blade is markedly curved unlike the straight sided blade.

95 Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XIX-b.

96 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

97 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX-a.

98 *Ibid.* pl., XXXVIII-a; cf. *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, vol. VI, No. 61-64, p. 11 and figs. 86, 2; 85, 30, Malay dagger, '*Kris*'.

99 Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 27, pl. XXXIV, fig. 41.

100 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII-c.

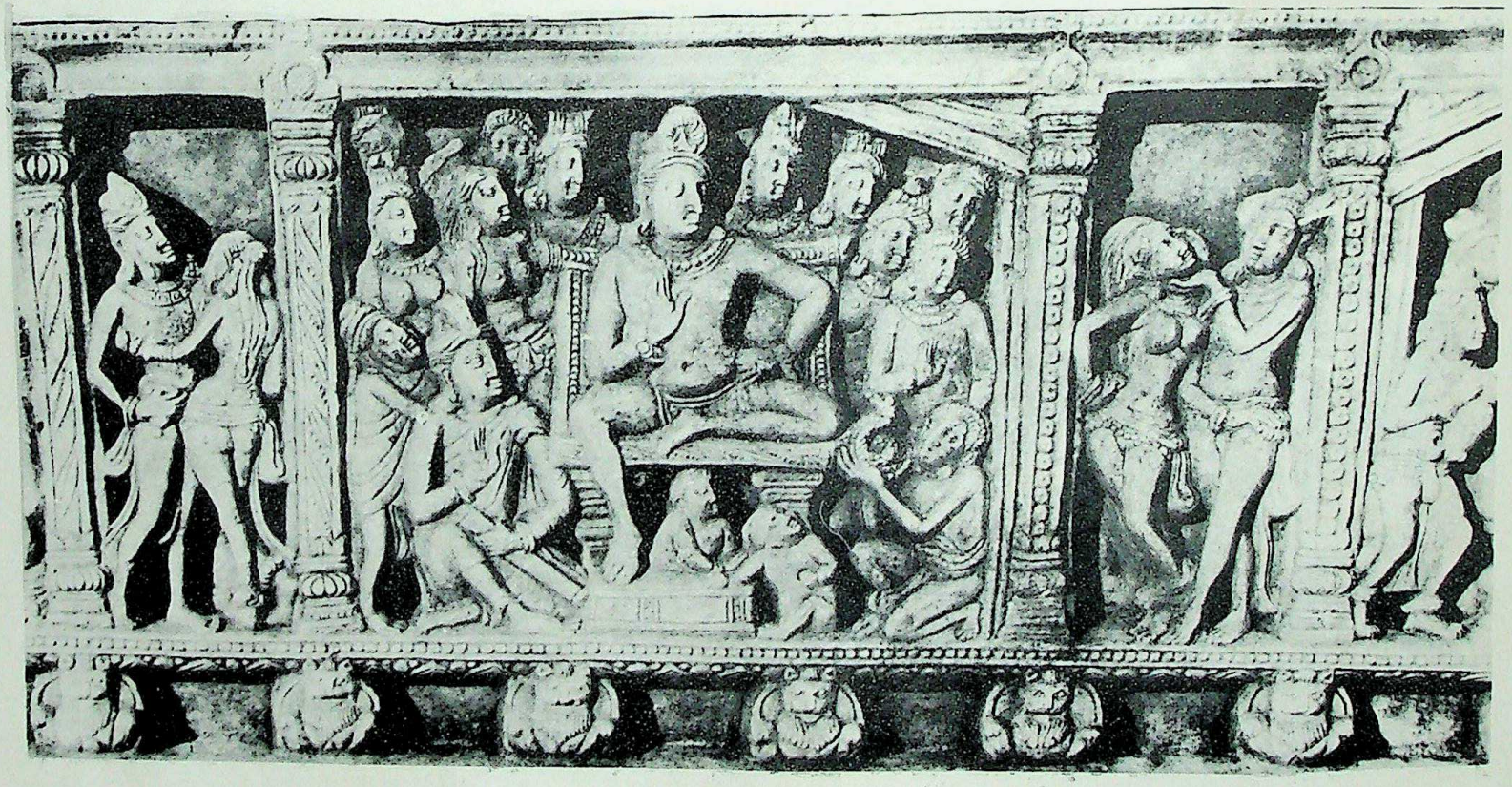

Plate XXIX Campeyya Jataka

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It appears to be a one-edged sword with a curvature. The hilt is not prominent but the pommel at its end is quite distinct (*Fig. XIII, 25,26*). This sword was probably of the sabre class. It is noteworthy that the sword very much resembles the present *talwār* of India which is a curved and single edged weapon—sharp on the convex side of the curve.[101]

This sword, with a pointed tip or head, may be identified with the *nistriṁśa* of Kauṭilya[102] or the *sūlāgra* of Varāhamihira.[103] In the later period the pointed swords appear to have become very common as is evident from their numerous illustrations in the Ajantā paintings. Therefore, it is quite probable that 'the cutting type,' of swords were slowly replaced by the thrusting types in later periods.

(i-c) *Sheaths: kosha (s)*

The bas-reliefs offer three different types of sheaths, namely, (a) sheaths with broad or flat tips (Longhurst, pl. XLV), (*Fig. XIII,27*), (b) sheaths tapering towards the tops (Longhurst, pl. L-a), and (c) sheaths with curved tips (Longhurst, pl. XLVII-a), (*Fig. XIII, 27 a*). However, there does not seem to be any relation between the shape of the sword and the shape of its sheath. At times tapering and pointed swords are kept in long flat tipped sheaths as seen in the panel[104] illustrating 'lady Amarā and the four wise men.' In this panel the sword and the sheath are shown separately.

The sheaths were presumably, made of leather (*charma*) which in some instances contained multi-ribbed decoration as noticed in the panel[105] illustrating 'a king denouncing Brahmanism.'

The scabbarded swords (*asicarmāṇi* or *khaḍgacarmāṇi*) in the reliefs are found at different positions. In some cases they are seen hung to the wrist of a person by means of a leather strap that is fastened to the sheath (*kosha*): this is shown in the panels revealing 'the *chakravartin* surrounded by jewels,'[106] Dighīti Kosala Jātaka,[107] etc., and invariably, these straps are seen hung to the left wrists of the persons.

In some other cases the scabbarded swords are seen fastened to the waist-band or the wearer by means of leather straps, as shown in the panels illustrating 'Māras assault,'[108] and Campeyya Jātaka,[109] etc. Invariably, in such cases the sheath is noticed fastened to the waist-band on the right side of the person. It is interesting to note that this practice of fastening the scabbard on the right side of the waist band was

101 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 62, cf. *JIA and Industry*, vol. VI, figs. 86, 20,27.

102 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 111. The sword of thirty inches length has been called *nistriṁśa*.

103 A.M. Sastri, *Studies in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā of Varāhamihira* (Typed thesis), p. 294.

104 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII-a.

105 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXI-a.

106 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-b.

107 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII-a.

108 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-b.

109 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

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prevalent among the Greeks and the Romans.[110] In few other cases, the scabbarded swords are seen just held in the hands of the persons.[111]

Sheaths were usually of leather and were tied to the soldier's body either by gold chains (*Kanakadaṇḍikā*) or by leather straps;[112] generally, they are seen worn on the left hand side. The *Agnipurāṇa* also recommends that the sword should be hung from the waist on the left side.[113] At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā on the other hand we see it slung from the waist on the right side, as depicted on some of the coins of the Gupta emperors [114] It is interesting to note that such a practice of fastening the sheaths on the right was present among the ancient Greeks and Romans.[115]

In general, the swords shown in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures resemble those in the sculptures of Bharhut, Amaravati, Sanchi, Goli and Mathura, etc.

(ii) *Battle-axe:* (*kuṭhāra*)

The battle-axe is categorised with the cutting weapons. There is only one representation of a battle-axe in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. It is depicted on the sculpture No. 92.[116] Its blade and the shaft—with a knob at the terminal—can be seen clearly (*Fig. XIII, 28*).

SHATTERING WEAPONS

(i) *The Thunder-Bolt weapons*; (*vajra*)

The thunder-bolt (*vajra*), a weapon used by Indra, is represented in the panel[117] illustrating 'the *nāga* king Apalāla subdued by the Buddha.' (*Fig. XIII, 29*). The weapon is shown shattering the head of the *nāga* king Apalāla.

Kauṭilya speaks of the *vajra* as a kind of club made of iron.[118] The *vajra* is also mentioned in the Jātakas,[119] and is cited in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*.[120] The *vajra* or the thunder-bolt is still an important symbol in Tibetan Buddhism and similar religious beliefs of the far-east.[121]

In the early sculptures of Amaravati[122] and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the *vajra* or the thunder-bolt is depicted as a three-pronged weapon—a feature which continues in the

110 Mitra, *op. cit.*, I, p. 316.

111 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, IX-B2; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XI-b.

112 In the *Mahābhārata*, the leather sheaths are termed *Khaḍga carmāṇi*. *Cullavagga*, VII, 3, 7; *Vinaya*, VIII, p. 243. *Asi* is a word in both Sanskṛit & Pali; hence *asicamma*.

113 *Agnipurāṇa*, 251, 7-8.

114 J. Allen, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty* etc., London, 1914, Pl. IX, 15-17; pl. XII, 15-18.

115 Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

116 *AA*, vol. XXVIII, p. 212, fig. 12.

117 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI.

118 II, Ch. 18.

119 IV, p. 182.

120 *Ragh*, IV, 68; XII, 79; XX, 22.

121 *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, No. 61-64, Fig. 25L (37L).

122 Sivaramamurti, *AI*, No. 6, fig. 3, b; fig. 2, a, fig. 3a and for Sānchī fig. 2, b.d.

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history of its depiction upto the medieval period.[123] In Gandhāra sculptures,[124] it is seen shaped like a bone, perhaps this suggests its origin from the bones of Dadhīchi.

WEAPONS OF DEFENCE

(i) *Shields*

Of defensive weapons only the shields are represented in the reliefs; they present no variety as regards their shape and make up. In all the instances they are represented as of the same type—oblong. The decorations on them are simple and include horizontal bands of single or double lines and these are seen decorating the outer surface of the shields covering the whole length in two, three, or five bands as the case may be. In other cases they are plain. Only in one instance a stud is seen adorning a shield.

As it would appear the depicted shields seem to have been made of leather or of wooden planks. The latter type were rendered light by hollowing out one surface.

The panels, illustrating Dighīti Kosala Jātaka[125] and a village scene,[126] reveal shields of oblong shape held by the foot soldiers; a spear point is also seen projecting over these: only the head portions of the spears are visible because the shaft is covered by the shield. The shields appear to be long—flat pieces of wood–with marginal incisions along their four sides. The shields illustrated in the Dighīti Kosala Jātaka[127] are decorated with double lines all along the four sides (*Fig. XIII, 30*).

That the shields were sometimes embellished with two, three, or five horizontal double bands can be known from some of the instances.[128] In all these cases the shields appear independently, without being associated with spears as seen in some of the cases above.

Similar examples, but with spears, occur in an unidentified panel[129] (*Fig. XIII, 31*), and in the panel[130] illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion,' and in another one illustrating 'the dead body scene.'[131] In these cases the decorated bands consist of three double lines. The shield depicted in the panel[132] illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion' is embellished with a stud (Pl. VI).

123 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, fig. 3-b, and 3d.

124 *Ibid.*, p. 23, fig. 3a.

125 Longhurst, *op. cit.* pl. XLVII-a.

126 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

127 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-A.

128 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. IV; Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-b; *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XLIV-a and Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXIII-b.

129 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

130 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. L-a.

131 *Ibid.*, L-a.

132 *JOIB*, vol. XI, (1961 Sep.), No. 1, fig. 18.

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A different decoration is available on the shield carved on a pillar[133] from the palace site. In this vertical double bands are seen joined with horizontal double bands at the terminals—in opposite direction. In the middle of the vertical double bands, again horizontal double bands are attached. The whole design gives the appearance of the letter F upside down. (*Fig. XIII, 32*).

As some of the instances show these shields were probably held with some kind of a handle in the middle. The oblong shields can be identified as the *Kavāṭas* of the *Arthaśāstra*.[134] Parallel examples of the shields noticed in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures occur at Sanchi[135] Amaravati[136] and Goli.[137]

133 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.* pl. LV.

134 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 112.

135 Maisey, *Sānchī*, pls. XX, XXVII, XXXV.

136 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. VI, fig. 12.

137 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Golī sculptures), pl. IV, I-A.

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TEN

Conveyances

Man's efforts for lightening the labour of walking and for facilitating the burden of carrying his belongings from place to place possibly led to the invention of conveyances. Generally the conveyances are of two kinds, namely, those for land transport such as horses, elephants, camels, mules and wheeled vehicles like carts etc., and others for water transport, like boats etc.

The conveyances represented in the bas-reliefs are few, and include only those for land transport. Nevertheless, they give us a fairly good idea of the means of communication which existed in those days.

LAND TRANSPORTS

The means of land transport illustrated in the reliefs include (i) beasts of burden, such as horses and elephants, as also (ii) wheeled vehicles, like carts and carriages.

(i) *Beasts of burden*

(a) *Horses*

Among the beasts of burden used as a mode of transport the horse is important. The sculptural representations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reveal that the animal was used both for riding and pulling the carriages as well. But the usage of horses for pulling carriages is much less depicted as compared to that showing its other utility.

Horse riding appears to have been very popular in the Ikshvāku period; the reliefs depict horse riders very frequently. Princes and soldiers are shown riding horses. Evidently the horse was not a common man's vehicle and is found always used by the royal personages and soldiers. Horses are also seen used in royal processions and wars. The panel[1] illustrating 'the *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa*' reveals a well caparisoned horse in a royal procession; prince Gautama is shown riding it.

The horse is shown with rich trappings. Its saddle (*paryāṇa*) is trellised and bordered with small jingling bells or pendants. The saddle could have been a piece of

1 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII.

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cloth, probably quilted or of leather. The bridle consists of a thin strap (presumably of leather) and includes a forehead band, a check-piece, and a nose-band. The rein is simple and plain and appears to have been knotted or sewed on to the bit.

It is interesting to note that the horse-bit is clear in the relief.[2] For Arrian's statement that the horse-bits were absent in India at the time of his visit has given rise to a controversy. He says[3] "The Indians have neither saddles nor bridles like those which the Greeks and Celts make use of; but instead of bridles they bind a piece of raw bullock's hide round the lower part of the horse's jaw, to the inner part of which the common people fix spikes of brass or iron, not very sharp, but the richer ones have them of ivory." Within the horse's mouth is a piece of iron like a dart, to which the reins are fastened. Fergusson,[4] relying on Arrian's statement, credited the Greeks with the introduction of horse-bitts into India. And he has quoted the similarity between the words snaffle in Sanskṛit—*khalīna* and Greek—*Xarivos* in support of his contention, and their presence in Sanchi reliefs. Fortunately this controversy is settled by the testimony of another authority—Megasthenes, he mentions horse-bits[5] in context of India. Moreover, the admission by Arrian of the use of an iron bit and the evidence of reins for horses being mentioned in the Rigveda are adverse to Arrian's own observations.

Apart from the saddle and the bridle the horse is further embellished with a breast-band (*kakshya*), and another similar band at the back passing from below the tail. Small jingling bells or pendents are to be seen attached to the saddle, breast-band and the side-band. Such small jingling belts or pendents have been mentioned by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* as the *Kinkiṇyaḥ Sūkshmaghaṇṭāh*. Near the front line of the saddle and in the side bands are to be seen decorations of huge rosette-shaped bosses called *chakrakas*. A fly-whisk or *yāk*-tail crest is adorning the head of the beast, the mane is not hacked.

One noteworthy feature is that the horse is shown being led by Channa, presumably by means of a string or a strap, connected to a ring-like object held in his hand. Evidently, he is in the act of leading the animal. Probably Channa is holding a stirrup.[6] The reins of the horse is seen held by prince Gautama.

The presence of the stirrups in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs has to be explained. Such stirrups are conspicuously absent in the early sculptures of Sanchi, Bharhut,

2 The horse-bits are seen distinctly in the Sānchī reliefs; compare also horses depicted in Mathurā and Gāndhāra sculptures; vide B.N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas* (illustration depicting the Vessantara Jātaka scene) and, Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, figs. 45, 49, 51.

3 *Indica*, chap. XIV.

4 Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

5 Mitra, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, PP. 335-336. See also McGrindles Translation, *Fragment*, XXXV, p. 89.

6 See Gode,P.K., 'The History of the stirrup in India and Foreign Horsemanship-between B.C. 852 and 1948', *Bharatiya Itihasa Saṁśodhaka Mandala, Traimāsika*, XXIX, no. 1-2 (113-114), 1948, pp. 1-14.

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Amaravati etc., and even at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā this is the only instance where a stirrup is indicated. As it is a solitary representation in the entire range of the reliefs it is quite probable that the stirrup (*rakab*) at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā was of central Asian origin and possibly associated with the Śakas, or the Romans. If the identification is wrong then the object under discussion remains merely a ring and has got nothing to do with the trappings of the horse.

A clear representation of a caparisoned horse is depicted in the panel[7] illustrating the Manāpaduma Jātaka. The horse has rich trappings and similar to those described earlier. In this case the rear-band is decorated with huge embossed discs. One noteworthy feature is that the rear one is further embelished with a conch shaped tassel or plume. It is seen dangling from the embossed disc presumably by means of a hook. The horse has a tail-band. Tassels at the ear are seen distinctly. The mane is not hacked. The stirrups and the horse-shoes are conspicuously absent. (*Fig. XIV, 1*).

The horse kanṭhaka is depicted thrice in the reliefs: the panels illustrating 'Siddhārtha giving away his jewels',[8] 'Chandaka's *nivedana* about Siddhāratha's *abhiniṣkramaṇa*'[9] and yet another panel revealing 'Siddhartha renouncing his jewels,'[10] depict similarly decorated horses.

In some instances the horse has been depicted to signify one of the seven jewels of a sovereign. Thus the panel[11] depicting 'Māndhātu causing a shower of gold' reveals a steed representing one such jewel. The trappings on this horse are the same as described earlier. One noteworthy feature in this instance, however, is that a row of little figurines, just like the toy-figurines of deers facing ahead are seen hanging from its breast-plate (*Fig. XIV, 2*). Possibly, they are the *lavaṇa-kalāyi* as mentioned by Bāṇa and pointed out by Agrawala.[12] According to Sivaramamurti they are only decorative in purpose. Agrawala[13] is of the opinion that this word *lavaṇa-kalāyi* is perhaps originally Sassanian ane borrowed in a corrupt form into Sanskṛit.

Similar decorations of *lavaṇa- kalāyi* occur at Amaravati,[14] in Gandhara art,[15]

7 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-b; cf. Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 45, 49, 51.

8 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV.

9 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII.

10 *Ibid.*, pl. IX.

11 *Ibid.*, pl. XVI.

12 Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his *Harṣacarita*, while describing the complete trappings of horses in the army of Harsa, refers to this word. Śaṅkara, the commentator explains it as *Lavaṇa-Kalāyi Mṛigākritih, aśvānām dārumayī Krīyate* meaning that *Lavaṇa-kalāyi* was a pendent made of wood and having the form of a deer.It appears such figures were also used for adorning Roman and Greek horses and were known as *Phalara* in Greek language being made of a metallic round pieces with cresent-shaped figures dangling from them. (Cornish, *Concise Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 477, fig. 806-quoted from V.S. Agrawala, *Deeds of Harsha* (*Being a Cultural Study of Bana's Harshacarita*), Benaras, 1964, p. 176.

13 Agrawala, V.S., '*A Note on Lavaṇa-Kalāyi*,' *IC*, vol. XII, No. 1-4, pp. 233-35.

14 Fergusson, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVII.

15 Puri, *op. cit.*, illustration depicting Vessantara Jātaka scene (from the British Museum).

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cave paintings of Ajanta[16] and on the Gupta coins.[17]

The horse was used freely and commonly by the soldiers while on official duty. This is evident from the panels illustrating 'the conversion of the Śākya princes,'[18] 'king Kappina's conversion,'[19] an unidentified panel[20] and from an ornate pillar.[21] In all these cases the horses are depicted with rich trappings.

The horses were used for hauling carriages or wagons. This is known from an unidentified relievo panel.[22] Four horses are seen drawing the wagon in this representation. Horses drawing the carriages or chariots are also met with in the sculptures of Sanchi,[23] Amaravati,[24] Mathura,[25] Gandhara[26] and in the caves of Bhaja[27] and Ajanta.[28]

(b) *Elephants*

In the reliefs elephants appear in royal processions and as used by soldiers in war; they were a symbol of sovereignty[29] and therefore mostly favoured by the kings in ancient times.

The panel[30] illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion' reveals three elephants in a royal procession; the king is shown riding an elephant. Behind him a *Chhattradhara* is seated and in holding a *Chhatra*, the royal insignia. An *ankuśa*[31] is distinctly seen in the hand of the king Kappina. Generally, a *tottra* (prod) or an *ankuśa* (hook) are used to urge and direct the elephant.

In the same panel, in the upper portion, king Kappina's elephant is again depicted. It is shown in a kneeling posture and king Kappina is sitting on it. The elephant is seen having rich trappings. The saddle of the elephant is seen secured by means of a strong rope.[32] The neck is lavishly ornamented.

16 *Journal of Indian Art and Industries*, Nos. 61-64, 19 (20), p. 12.

17 Allan, J. ...*Catalogue of Coins of Gupta dynasty* ..., (London, 1914) pl. IX, 17; XII, 13, 14.

18 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-b.

19 *Ibid.*, pl. XXV-a.

20 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

21 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. X-a.

22 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XLIV-a.

23 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

24 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. X. 13.

25 Motichandra, *Sārthavaha* (Prāchīna Bharat Ki Patha Paddati), Patna, 1953, figs. 20, 30.

26 *Journal of Indian Art and Industries* (1900), Nos. 69-72, figs. 9, p. 76.

27 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 41.

28 Motichandra, *loc. cit.*, fig. 36.

29 Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI; see also Helene Mc Graig, 'Elephant in Indian Art', *Times of India Annual* and Hulton, J.H., 'The Elephant in State Ceremonies,' *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. 16, London, 1916.

30 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. L-a.

31 Aṅkuśa is a short staff mounted with an iron crook. Compare Sānchī specimen No. 169 in Mitra, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 353. It remains unchanged even to this day.

32 In some cases, metallic chains were also used instead of ropes; vide Mitra, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 339.

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Around the neck is to be seen, what appears to be, a row of crescentic pendants. Near this, a number of bead-strings are also descernible (*Fig. XIV, 3*). This may represent *karṇacūlīs* as identified by Sivaramamurti.[33] However, the representation of these in the sculpture is not quite distinct. In ancient Greece such crescentic pendants were used for decorating horses.[34] Similar pendants are also found around the neck of an elephant at Sanchi[35] and Mathura,[36] and around the necks of horses depicted in the later group of Ajanta paintings.[37]

The elephants in the reliefs, are invariably found with their *māhouts* elephant-driver[38] (*hastipakas*).

In a panel[39] illustrating 'Māra's Assault' an elephant is depicted. In this case the trellised padding over the animal's back is distinctly seen. At times the animal is shown carrying three persons (as on an ornate pillar[40]).

That the elephant formed an important arm of the royal army[41] during the Ikshvāku period is known from the sculptural depiction of 'the war scene' on an *āyaka* cornice stone. The elephant depicted in the sculpture is having rich trappings; its thick trellised padding and the bells around its necks are all clearly visible.

(ii) *Wheeled vehicles*

The wheeled vehicles represented in the reliefs include carts and carriages or wagons. The carts were used for short journeys and the carriages or wagons were used for carrying goods.

(a) *Bullock-carts*

The bullock carts (*go-rathas*) are perhaps the oldest and commonest wheeled vehicles in India;[42] excellent examples of them are depicted in our reliefs. The panel,[43] illustrating 'Sujātā feeding the Buddha,' depicts a bullock cart.

It is seen to consist of a box-like frame mounted on wheels. The spokes of these wheels are shaped in the manner of the lotous-petal type. It is covered with a vaulted roof of bamboo-work for protecting the occupants from sun and rain. The

33 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

34 Marshall F.H. *Catalogue of Jewellery in the British Museum, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, p. XLVI (London, 1911).

35 Dhavalikar, *op. cit.*, p. 34; fig. 59.

36 cf. Mathura : *Marg*, IX, No. 2, p. 46; pl. 5.

37 Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, pl. L-c.

38 cf. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XIX-b, XIX-d; XXV-a: Ramachandra Rao, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII; and also see Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 15.

39 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII-b.

40 *Ibid.*, pl. X-b.

41 Megasthenes, as quoted by Strabo, says that each Indian elephant carried three arches besides the driver : *Essays*, 11, 295. See also *Arthasāstra*, pp. 151-155.

42 Vide Gode, P.K., "The Indian Bullock-cart : its prehistoric and Vedic Ancestors," *PO*, vol. V. Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 144-51.

43 Ramachandran, *op, cit.*, pl. IV-A.

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covering is raised over the body frame itself with an opening in the front and back and the components of the cart[44]—the wheel (*cakra*), the spoke (*ara*), the rim (*nemī*), axle (*akṣa*), axle-pin (*aṇi*) etc., are clearly visible. The exterior of its roof is seen decorated with chequered and creeper-like designs (*Fig. XIV, 4*). This light-vehicle was used to carry Sujātā and her maid-servant. Parallel examples of this type of cart can be seen in the contemporary sculptures of Amaravati[45] and Goli.[46] Greater details of this type of cart can be discerned in the illustration depicting the Vessentara Jātaka at Goli; this cart is provided with a *yānāstaraṇa* (soft carpet) on which the owner of the cart can be seen sitting.

Sometimes such carts were provided with a screen as depicted in the panel[47] illustrating 'the offering of food to the Buddha after the enlightenment.' In this panel bullock-cart is shown with a screen at its back. The folds of the screen are clearly indicated by double lines running vertically from the curved top of the cart's roof. But for this and its undecorated covering the cart is exactly similar to the one described earlier.

That solid wheels were used for the carts of this kind, during the Ikshvāku period, is known from a toy cart depicted in the panel[48] illustrating 'the gift of the earth.' A toy cart of *pravahaṇa* type with a solid wheel is shown in the panel. A boy is shown pulling the cart by means of a string.

The sculptures at Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati, Goli, Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, etc., show us how the appearance of the bullock-cart was in those days. One can see the continuation of the basic form of the bullock-cart through all the phases of early Indian art. It is interesting to note that the modern carts have not undergone much change. The types of carts depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā retiefs are still in vogue in Andhra Pradesh. And the cart with the solid wheel noticed with the reliefs survives to the present day.

(b) *Carriages or Wagons*

A solitary example of an open carriage or wagon is illustrated in an unidentified relievo panel.[49] A wagon drawn by four horses is depicted in this panel; it is shown having a heavy load of goods—evidently for transport. It is an open-box frame surmounted on spoked wheels. The other component of the wagon, namely, the wheel, spokes, axle, axle-pin, hub etc., are distinctly seen (*Fig. XIV, 5*).

Such carriages or wagons carrying loads for long distances get their references in the early Indian literature. We hear of traders going from Videha to Gandhāra,[50]

44 For the terms for the different parts of the chariots, see Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 201.

45 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl, LXIII, fig. 5-c, X, fig. 19.

46 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli Sculptures), pl. V-c. 2.

47 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVII-b.

48 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-B.

49 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XLIV-a.

50 *J.*, 111, 365.

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from Magadha to Sovira[51] and from Champa to Burma.[52] The trade routes are also mentioned in the *Suttanipāta*[53] which states the principal halting places enroute from Paithan to Sravasti. Evidently, for carrying their goods the traders in those days must have used wagons or carriages. The *Dīgha Nikāya*[54] speaks of the cart known as *Śakaṭa* for carrying merchandise.

(iii) *Palanquins : Śibikā(s)*

The panel[55] illustrating 'the *Bodhisattva* descending from heaven in the form of white elephant,' reveals a palanquin (*śibikā*). It is borne on the shoulders of some pot-bellied dwarfs.

The palanquin probably has a square base; on its four corners are four pillars that support the vaulted roof with eaves on all sides (*Fig. XIV, 6*).

The palanquin resembles the four pillared *maṇḍapas* having vaulted roofs which get their frequent representation in the reliefs. Comparable example comes from the Amaravati[56] sculptures.

51 *Vinayavatthu Aṭṭhakathā*, 370.

52 *J.*, VI.

53 *Suttanipāta*, 1011-1013.

54 *Dīgha Nikāya*, 11, 110, 234; also see *Vin.*, 111, 114, J. 1, 191, 11, 296.

55 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-d.

56 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. X, fig. 20.

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ELEVEN

Toys, Games and other Amusements

TOYS

The children of the Ikshvāku period had many things to play with (*kṛīdābhāṇḍa*) and some of these are realistically sculptured in the bas-reliefs. The panel[1] illustrating 'the gift of earth' reveals a few children with their toys. According to the context of the story the children appear to belong to the wealthy households of the city. If it is so then the panel represents a pleasant aspect of childhood in those days.

The toys represented in the panel comprise cart, toy-horse, and the rattle.

(i) *The toy-cart*

A child to the right of the Buddha, in the above mentioned panel is shown playing with a toy-cart; the cart is roofed and resembles in shape and design, the modern Indian village cart.

The toy-cart in the relief has two semisolid wheels. The spokes on the wheels are indicated by lines which radiate from its Centre. The nave of the wheel bears a ring like fitting upon the inside; perhaps this is where in the axle worked. This ring projects a little and thus serves the function of a rim to the nave. The axle of the cart is fixed below the body of the cart in the middle, its ends project through the nave of the wheels. The body of the cart is oblong in shape and has a curved roof, probably made of bamboo screen (*Fig. XIV, 7*). The child is seen pulling the cart by means of a string tied to one end of the cart.

Such toys that one drawn by boys, by means of a string, are frequently referred to in Indian literature.[2]

1 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-b.

2 A wealth of toys is mentioned in the Pali texts *Dīgha Nikāya* and *Milindapanha*. (*DN*, i, pp. 10-11, i, 1, 4; *Milindapanha*, ii, p. 32; *Vinaya Text*, p. 229; also see *J.*, VI, No. 538). It is said that the potter's child at whose hands Śālivāhana Vikramarka of Ujjain suffered defeat and death, used to play with toy-carts, elephants and caparisoned horses. This toy army of the potter's child, legend asserts, was later on transformed into a regular army (R. Subrahmanyam, *op. cit.*, p. 3). The famous drama *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*Mṛcchakaṭika* by Śūdraka with the commentary of Pṛthvidhara (Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1922, pp. 260) is named after a clay-cart, the toy of Rohasena.

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In the contemporary art sculptures at Amaravati[3] depict similar toy-carts being dragged by children by means of a string.

That the children of the Ikshvāku period were in the know of toy-carts and played with them is amply attested by the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā for several terracotta toy-cart frames have been discovered during the excavations.

(ii) *The toy-horse*

This is represented in the same panel[4] i.e. 'the gift of earth.' A child to the left of the Buddha is shown holding a toy-horse mounted on wheels and dragged by means of a string. Exactly similar toy-horse is depicted on the ornate pillars[5] recovered from the palace site at the excavations. In both the cases the horse is seen fixed on a thick oblong piece, presumably, of wood or of clay to which the wheels are provided. The strings attached to it indicate that it was a wheeled and movable toy. (*Fig. XIV, 8*).

Similar toy-horses are also represented in the Amaravati sculptures.[6] These attest our sculptural evidence. The excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have also yielded innumerable animal-toys which include well caparisoned horses, elephants, and other animals like monkeys, rams, dogs etc.[7]

(iii) *The ball*

Two balls are found held by the child standing in the left extremity of the panel[8] illustrating 'the gift of earth.' These balls are tied to the ends of a strip of cloth: just behind this child is to be seen another who is also shown holding a ball, presumably made of cloth, in his right hand. Because of the string, even when the ball was thrown, it still returned to the child's hand. It is quite probale that the child in the panel holds two such balls (*beṇḍuka*). Such balls (*tindukas*), made of cloth ((*celagola*), are referred to in Jaina literature[9] as the playthings for the boys and girls. In the Jātaka[10] period playing with balls (*beṇḍukam*) appears to have been a popular game. Kālidāsa[11] also speaks of boys and girls at play with such balls. Similar retrievable balls for childrens are found in Maharashtra in the present day. But, now-a-days, they are of rubber and filled with water and tied to a rubber string.

3 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 23, 31.

4 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-b.

5 *Ibid.*, pl. IX-c.

6 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 31; Fergusson, *op. cit*,, pl. LIX, fig. 2.

7 *IAR*, 1956-57, p. 38.

8 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-b.

9 Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 238; *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to ball games among other outdoor sports. Vyas, *op. cit.*, fig. 89.

10 *J*, V. pp. 196, 203, G-37; VI, p. 741; *Kaṇhadīpāyana*...J, no. 444, IV, p. 19, *Muga* J., no. 538, VI, pp. 4, 9, *Vessantara J.*, no. 547; IV, p. 284.

11 *Mal.*, P. 85; *Ragh*, XVI-83; *Ku*, 1. 29.

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(iv) *The rattle*

This also appears represented in the panel[12] illustrating 'the gift of earth.' One of the servants depicted in this panel, standing behind the children, holds a curious thing which appears to be a rattle.

It has the appearance of a forked stick with a knob. It consists of three parts; a handle and two pieces of wood of which one is thicker than the other (*Fig. XIV, 9*): the handle may be the continuation of its thicker piece and to this is attached one end of the thin piece by some contrivance which kept the piece loose. Since the joint is covered by the palm of the holder the details of the joint are not available. The rattling sound was produced by shaking the handle rapidly; when the loose thin piece struck the thicker one in rapid succession. If this presumption is correct, then the object illustrated in the relief is a rattle. Apart from this the object under discussion may be also a fan or a stick to ward off beas or flies from flowers or cakes that the vendor carries in a basket.

GAMES

(i) *Dice*

One of the games known to the people of Ikshvāku period was dice. Although the bas-reliefs do not reveal any evidence of the game the excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā[13] have brought to light many dice pieces, indicating thereby the prevalence of the game during those days. Many Diecs pieces, made of ivory, are evidenced in the Ikshvāku levels,[14] of the eacavation. A majority of them bear concentric circles for their markings while others are marked with a simple dot within a circle.

The Jātakas[15] make a mention of gambling with the dice and the names of various ways to throw the dice—and of the magic-dice. In the Buddhist literature[16] games like *Aṭṭhāpada* and *Dasāpadā* are also spoken of.

Interestingly, a bas-relief from Bharhut[17] portrays a scene where two men are sitting face to face. There is a board in front of them which is seen provided with a gradation arrangement of five squares in six lines or rows, one on top of the other; six little cubes, with marks on their sides, are also seen lying outside the board.

Excavations at Taxila[18] have yielded a number of dice pieces datable to Indo-Greek and Śaka-Parthian periods. However, no chess board is reported to have been discoved at Taxila. Likewise several other sites have evidenced the existence of dice pieces of different materials.

12 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-b.

13 Krishnamurthy, K., 'The dice-play and its archaeological corroboration at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā–Andhra Pradesh', *OHRJ*, vol. X, 1961, nos. 1 and 2, pp. 1-4.

14 Krishnamurthy, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

15 *J.*, 1, 151, 221; 111, 61, 131, VI, 171, 133, 137; VI, 137; 11. 175.

16 *Cullavagga*, 1. 13. 2.

17 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV, No. 9.

18 Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 2, Minor Antiquities, volume III, Plate 200, figs. 92, 93, 97, 98.

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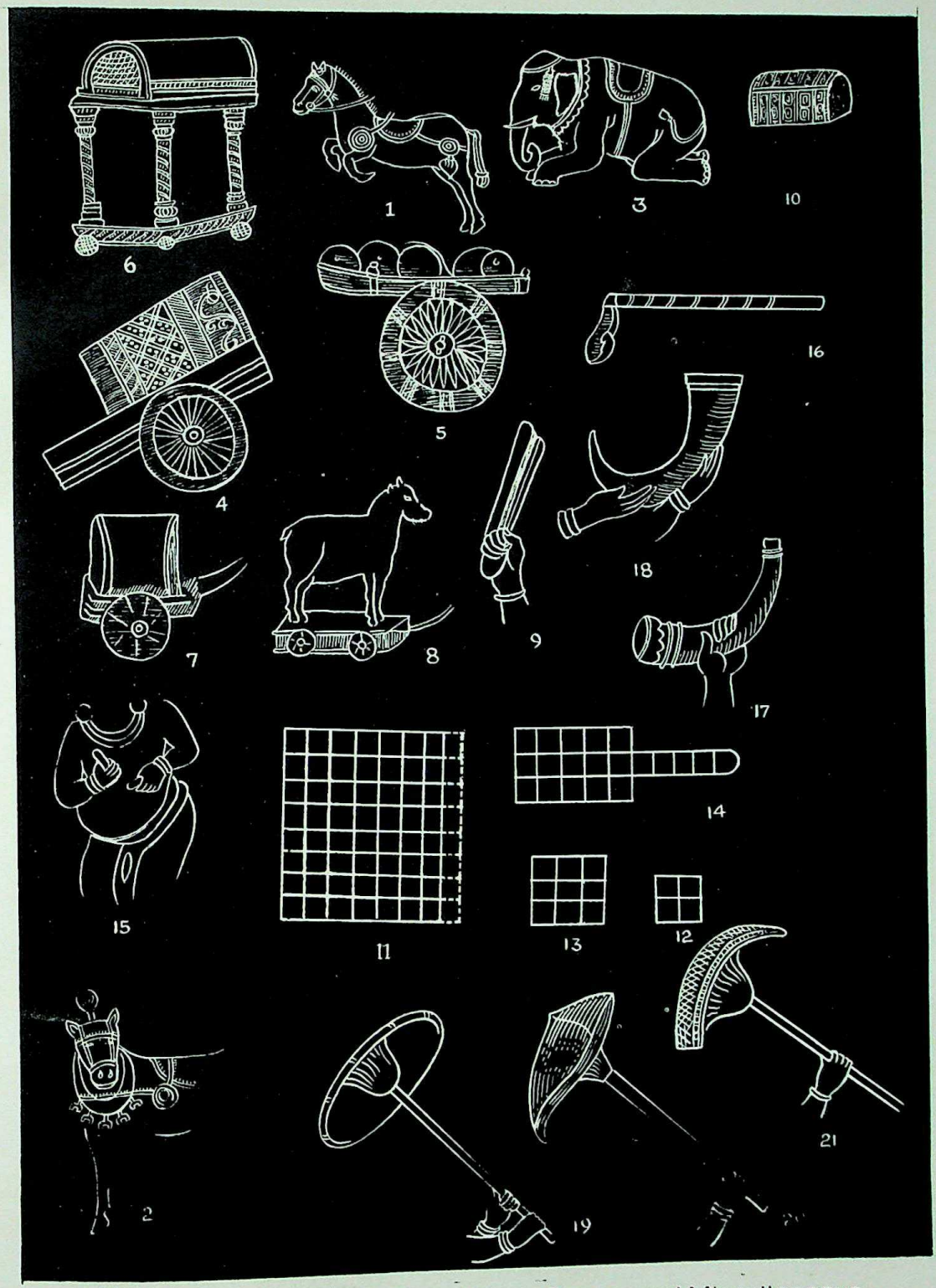

Fig. XIV Conveyances, Toys, Games and Miscellaneous objects

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Apart from these ivory dice pieces, with incised circles on them, the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have yielded traces of game-boards on some of the slabs of both secular and religious buildings.

(a) *The game-board on the bathing-ghāṭ step* (*Fig. XIV, 11*).

The bathing *ghāt*,[19] located to the west of *Pushpabhadraswāmī* temple, is on the bank of river krishna.This elaborate *ghāt*, measuring100' x 330,' is provided with flights of balustraded steps and terraces. The core of the structure is built of bricks set in lime and securely lined with Cuddapah slabs, probably for preserving it from the rush of water. The slabs, besides bearing inscriptions and the mason's marks, contain a line drawing of a game-board. The game-board consists of eight rows having eight squares in each row. The game played on this board may be identified as *aṭṭhāpada* referred to by Buddhagosha.

Another similar but fragmentary game board is seen on a *maṇḍapa's* flooring-slab near the four-spoked *stūpa*[20]. From its extant portion it can be taken to be one generally used for playing at the *aṭṭhāpada* game. Even though the contemporary sculptures do not yield much evidence the excavations have given enough evidence to show that this game was popular in the Ikshvāku period.

Playing at *aṭṭhāpada* was a kind of gambling. It is now known as *chaturaṅga*—Indian chess. Buddhaghosha has explained the term *aṭṭhāpada*[21] in his commentary on *Dīghanikāya-Sumangalavilasinī* as a game played on a board with eight rows having elght squares in each row. It may mean any other game like the draughts, from which the modern game of chess has developed.

(b) *The game-boards from the burning-ghāṭ area* (*Fig. XIV, 12 to 14*).

On the northern slopes of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā hill are situated the burning-ghāṭ[22] structures of the Ikshvākua times. In the same area a 48-pillared hall was also disclosed to view in the excavations. On some of the flooring-slabs of this hall are incised specimens of game-boards—of two, three and five rows and each board is having the same number of squares respectively in each of its rows. These game-boards were perhaps used in dice play. Of them, the one with five rows is interesting. The mode of play with this kind of game-board recalls the modern game *patchis*.

These games were not uncommon in ancient India. The Vedic and *smṛiti* literatures clearly state that gambling houses were managed by the state. The

19 *IAR*, 1955-56, pl. XXXVIII.

20 *Ibid.*, 1958-59, p. 6.

21 Similarly *Dasapāda* was a game akin to *Aṭṭhāpada*, and it was played with a board of eleven lines having ten squares in each row.

22 *IAR*, 1955-56, pl. VI-A.

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Arthaśāstra[23] advocates a strict control of gambling by the state. Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanical literatures speak of the existence of gambling houses at several places. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the evidence supplied by the excavations confirms the continuance of the ancient Indian tradition of dice playing as a popular game.

(ii) *Marbles*

Another game known to the Ikshvāku period was that of marbles. This information is again supplied by the excavations which have yielded innumerable terracotta balls. These balls might have been used as marbles—a popular game among children even to this day.[24]

(iii) *Hop-scotch*

This is a kind of a game; that it was also known to the Ikshvāku people is to be inferred from a number of unperforated pottery discs discoverd in the excavations. Similar pottery discs are commonly found at almost all the early historic and protohistoric archaeological sites. These were evidently used as the 'housing pieces' by hop-scotch players. This game is played in the States of Maharashtra, Talmilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore even today. In Maharashtra it is locally called *ṭhikarībillā* and is a very popular game among children, particularly girls as elsewhere. In Andhra Pradesh it is known as *tokkuḍu billā*.

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS

The amusements of the people of the Ikshvāku period included wrestling, cock-fighting, snake charming, and sitck-playing. The bas-reliefs represent them realistically.

(i) *Wrestling*

Wrestling appears to be a favourite past-time during the Ikshvāku period. A stone medallion[25] discovered in the excavations represents two wrestlers (*mallas*) engaged in a wrestling match (Pl. XXX). The players are represented devoid of any dress on it and except a *langoṭī* are seen bare-bodied. One of them is seen holding the other by the thigh with his left hand while his right hand has engaged the opponent's left hand; the other is seen almost in a surrendering position and seems to be making a supreme effort to extricate himself by a hitting out with his closed fist. The physique of both is robust. Wrestling matches (*jetaśramah*) were generally arranged in arenas or open-air theatres (*prekṣāgāras*). The king took keen interest in conducting such tournaments.

23 iii, 20.

24 In Jain literature a reference is made to lac-marbles (*Vaṭṭayas*) in connection with playthings for boys and girls.

25 *IAR*, 1957-58, pl. VI-A-1; cf. Barua, *op. cit.*, Bhārhut pl. XCVI-147 Book III; cf. also Gandhāra : Harold Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pl. 445.

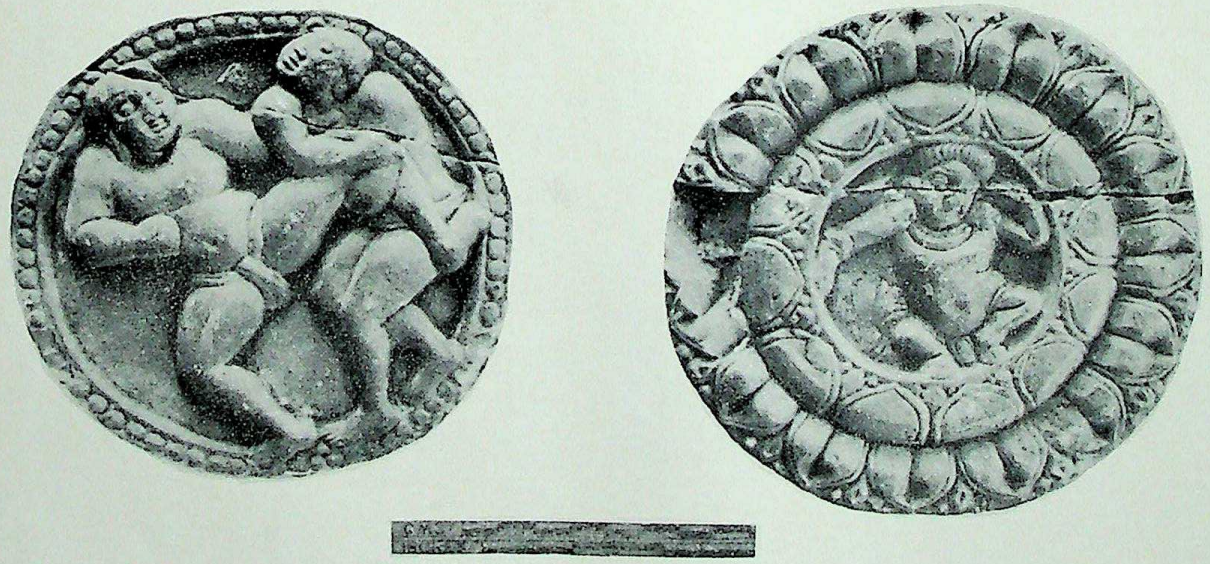

Plate XXX Stone medallion

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Plate XXXi Arena

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Although the bas-reliefs do not reveal any secular buildings like arenas and amphi-theatres their existence in the period has been confirmed by the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. During the recent excavations an arena[26] (Pl. XXXI) was unearthed where sports and amusements like wrestling matches, bull-fights, cock fights etc., were presumably conducted in those days.

This oblong stadium is laid out between the north-western corner of the citadel and the *Pushpabhadraswāmī* temple at the foot of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā hill. It resembles the Roman amphi-theatres of the early centuries of the Christian era very much. It consists of a central arena which is 309 ft. x 259 ft. and 15 feet deep; it is enclosed on all the four sides with flights of steps—each step of 2 feet width—and a pavilion on its west, all are constructed of burnt bricks. Further, in continuation with the topmost step and perhaps, all around the arena was a platform; its width, as noticed on an excavated southern portion, was 11 feet. On this side (south), six staircases were placed at regular intervals and connected to the platform: corridors (*sañcāra pathas*) were also provided in the stadium.

Seating arrangements

The king and the royal retinue possibly occupied the high seats provided on the rostrum and it was approachable by means of stairs (*mañcārohaṇa*). The sub-ordinates and other spectators perhaps occupied the flights of steps which were in tiers, one over the other, like the modern gallaries in a circus.

Arena

The arena was in the centre. Possibly the umpire (*prāśṇika*) and the competitors (*mallas*) took their seats near the arena. The pitch (*yuddha maṇḍala*) of the arena was spread over with sand (*sikatā*) or smooth earth free from pebbles. The ground was levelled up and was always kept slightly wet.[27]

(ii) *Cock-fights*

Another amusement for the people of the Ikshvāku period was cock-fights. A solitary example of the depiction of cock-fighting comes from a lotus medallion.[28] Two cock are shown face to face in the act of attacking each other. Evidently, the arena could have been the place where amusements like these were conducted. Probably like the Athenians, the people of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā perfected this game and adopted it as one of the popular past-times of the period.[29]

26 *IAR*, 1957-58, pls. II, III and IV-A. T.N. Ramachandran identifies this structure as a tank.

27 For wrestling in Ancient India, see Joshi, 'Wrestling Tournaments in Ancient India' *Poona Orientalist*, vol. XXI, nos. 1-4; pp. 50-56.

28 Fig. 2 in *QJMS*, vol. LIV, No. 4 (January, 1964).

29 Co ck fighting was an annual feature at Athens (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. V.P. 911; C.E. Robinson, *Everyday Life in Ancient Greece*, pp. 111 and 120, (Britain, 1936). For long, the Romans despised this game, but by the first century A.D., it gained popularity among the public. In India, it was possibly introduced sometime during Alexander's campaign, presumably from Greece and Persia. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, it seems to have come with the Romans with whom they had extensive trade contacts in the early centuries of the Christian era which is borne out by the presence of gold coins of Roman Emperors.

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However, the earliest archaeological evidence to confirm that cock-fighting existed in India was unearthed in the excavations of Taxila.[30] A copper seal containing two cocks face to face and clearly depicting a cock-fight scene was unearthed there. The seal is dated to Śaka-Pārthian period (Cent. 20-100 A.D.).

(iii) *Snake-charmers*

That the people of the Ikshvāku period also knew amusements like snake-charming can be known from the panel illustrating 'the Campeyya Jātaka.' A brāhmin is shown holding a snake in a basket and making the snake play before the king of Banaras. The snake is shown with raised hood. According to the story, this *Brāhmaṇa* caught the serpant Campeyya while the latter was observing fast in a field. By the power of charm the Brahmin caught the snake and made the snake to dance before multitudes of men, and earned much wealth thereby. References to snake-charmers and snake-charming are manifold in the *Jātakas*.[31]

(iv) *The stick-play*

An *āyaka* cornice stone[32] illustrates a person holding a piece, presumably, of wood in each of his hands (*Fig. X, 15*); he is shown in the act of striking one piece with the other. Evidently he must be dancing while striking the sticks. This kind of stick-play is generally seen in music parties where people with this kind of sticks (*koṇas*) dance while striking the sticks one against the other, individually or in groups. Similar plays can be seen even to this day before the temple-car festivals or in *bhajan mandīrs* in Andhra Pradesh. The play is known as *kolāṭaṁ* locally; in the Mysore region this play is known as *kolāta—kolu* in Kanarese language means a stick and *āṭa* means play. In Maharashtra and Gujrat also, a stick-play of this kind is known by the name *tipri*. The person who is represented in our relief may be playing a similar game.

(v) *Bathing, swimming*

The Ikshvāku people appear to have loved bathing; they spent their leisure in swimming pools or lakes. A panel[33] illustrating 'a prince in the pleasure garden' shows the prince midst his harem. In front of him can be seen a pool where a lady is shown swimming. She is actually in the act of holding a duck while swimming. That the people of the Ikshvāku period were found of bathing can be known, again, from

30 Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. 11 (Cambridge), p. 680, pls. 20 and vol. 111, 208; fig. 41; vol. I. p. 204.

31 *J.*, I, p. 214; II, No. 249; 290; *Ahiguṇḍika Jātaka* (111, No. 365), *Saltu Bhasta Jātaka*, (III, No. 402); *Bhuridatta Jātaka* (IV, No.543); IV, No. 506.

32 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII-c.

33 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVI-a.

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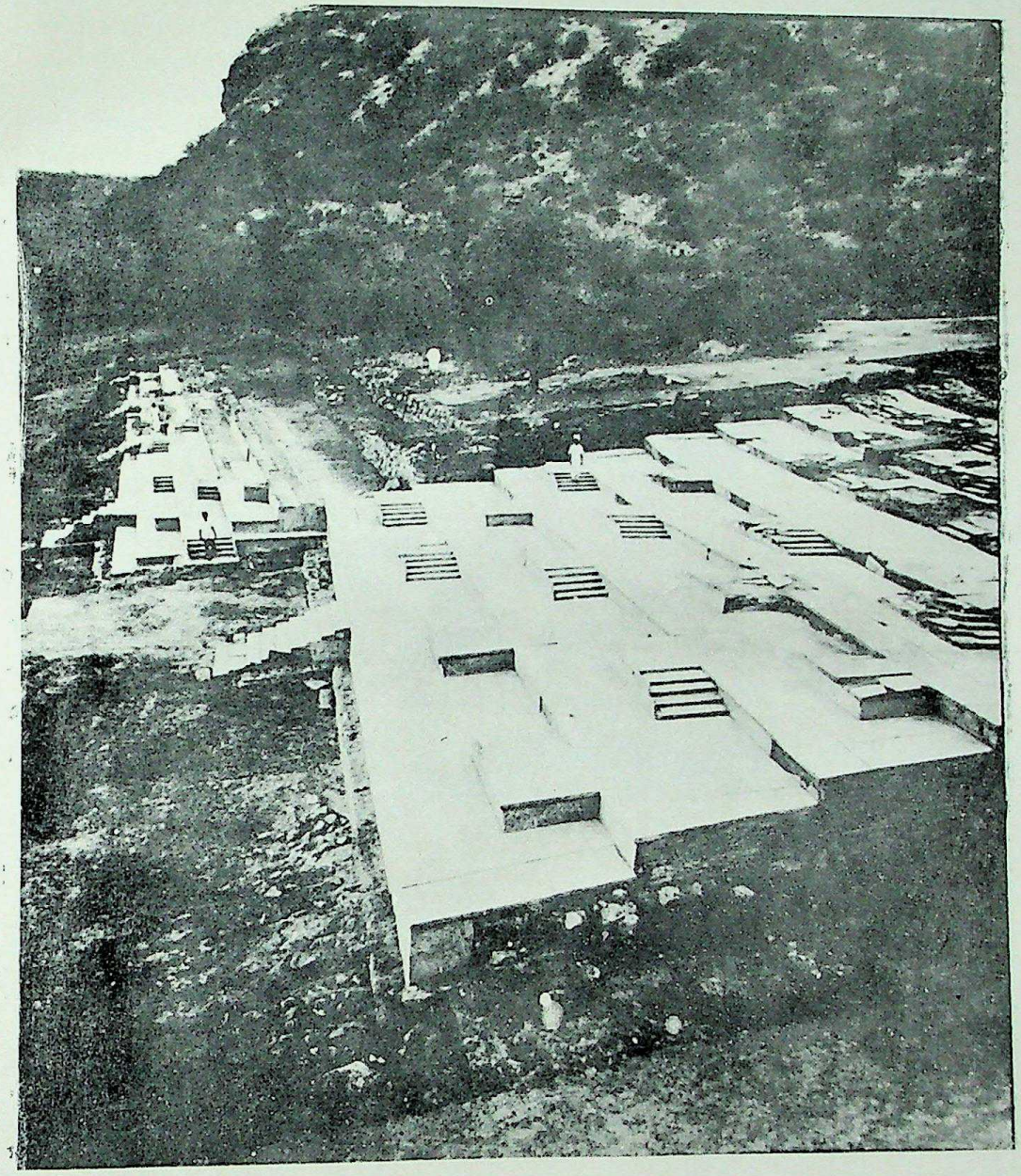

Plate XXXII Bathing Ghat

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the huge bathing-*ghāṭ* exposed[34] to view during the recent excavations. The bathing-*ghāṭ* (Pl. XXXII), is situated on the banks of the river Kṛishṇā, and is very elaborate, with a flight of balustrated steps. Arrangements for bathing of both the commoners and the royalty appear also to have been made keeping track of their social status.The bathing-*ghāṭ* provided for the royalty is ornate and its steps very low, uniformly two to three inches, in height. The bathing-*ghāṭ* on the northern side presumably for the commoners, is essentially simple and the steps here are considerably high. The very presence of such an elaborate bathing-*ghāṭ* testifies to the fondness of the people of the Ikshvāku period for bathing.

34 *IAR*, 1955-56, pl. XXXVIII.

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TWELVE

Miscellaneous Objects and other Items

BALANCE (TULĀ)

A solitary example of a balance (*tulā*) comes from the panel[1] illustrating the Śibī jātaka. A single-scaled balance (*Fig. XIV, 16*) is shown held by a person while the king Śibī, who is by his side, is cutting his own flesh. The slices of his flesh are being weighed in the balance.

This balance consists of a long horizontal bar, presumably of iron, with a weighing pan at one of its ends. The weighing pan appears to have been suspended by means of three or more strings. A close study shows that the beam is graduated, by small incised marks all over at regular intervals, towards the pan-end and the rest of the bar is left plain or unmarked. The fulcrum can also be seen distinctly. By shifting the fulcrum, by a hanging cord, nearer or away from the centre the weight of the slices of flesh could possibly be marked on the beam. This kind of one-scaled balance is still being used in many parts of India particularly in Orissa, and is known by the name of Narjī.[2]

In early Indian art representations of weighing balances are not wanting. However, as compared to the depiction of a balance with two pans the one pan balance is much less represented. It is interesting to note that one pan balance is invariably represented in the panels illustrating the Śibī Jātaka. In a way, the depiction of one pan balance in the panels renders the identification of the scene easy. The one pan balance occurs in the Sātavāhana and the Gandhāra arts. At Amaravati, the sculptures illustrating the Śibī Jātaka reveal one pan balances.[3] Similarly, a sculpture[4] of the Gandhāra school, now housed in British Museum, London, reveals the Śibī Jātaka wherein a one pan balance is represented.

1 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-a.

2 M.G. Dikshit, 'Narjī, the one pan-scales in Ancient India,' *BDCRI*, vol. 18 (Jan. 1957), pp. 5-7. Dikshit informs that one-pan scales are generally used by the Kāsāras or coppersmiths who go from village to village on horseback in search of old unserviceable vessels and other scrap which is often sold in exchange of new articles. In South India one-scale balances are generally seen in goldsmith shops.

3 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V. fig. 35; pl. XXVIII, fig. 1. C.

4 Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pl. X-2.

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DRINKING-HORN OR RHYTON

The drinking-horn or rhyton is to be seen in the hands of the carved Dionysus on the ornate pillar[5] from the palace site of the excavations. He is shown holding it in his left hand and is in the act of drinking (*Fig. XIV, 17*). The bearded person depicted on the pillar is evidently of foreign origin, and is probably drinking wine from his rhyton.

The presence of a drinking-horn at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā can be easily understood. The sea-borne trade that South India had with Rome in the early centuries of the Christian era resulted in import of many wine jars or amphorae and possibly, along with them the rhytons found their way into India from the Mediterranean countries. Apparently, these reached Nāgārjunakoṇḍā with the Romans or the Scythians, for the Romans had borrowed most of their drinking vessels from the Greeks.

These drinking-horns were generally plated with silver and during the imperial times they were frequently ornamented with finely cut gems.[6] The one that is represented at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā has close similarity with the Greek drinking-horn.

CORNUCOPIA[7]

The cornucopia type of a horn is also represented in the reliefs: a female attendant, holding a cornucopia, is shown in an unidentified panel[8] (*Fig. XIV, 18*). In literature, it is known as *nidhiśringa* (treasure horn, or cornucopia).

In early Indian art[9] its depictions are in plenty. At Sanchi the horn or tusk, symbolising fertility, is employed in a purely Buddhistic symbol of *triratna*. At Amaravati the depiction of cornucopia horns is prolific; a horn of cornucopia type is generally seen carried by women in many scenes sculptured at Amaravati.[10] One of the Mathura sculptures[11] contain an image of the *ṛishya śriṅga*.

5 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. X-c.

6 Seyffert, *op. cit.*, p. 686.

7 See for the origin and the detailed discussion of cornucopia, Motichandra's article 'Nidhi-śṛiṅga' (cornucopia) : A study in Symbolism, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 9 (1964-66), pp. 1-33.

8 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-b.

9 Cornucopia is also a well known motif in Roman Art. See for its origin, H.A. Guerber, *The Myths of Greece and Rome*, London, 1948, p. 132. This popularity of the cornucopia has led J. Allan to interpret cornucopia on some of the Gupta coins as of foreign origin and to say that the motif must have been borrowed from Roman Art. Similarly Herald Ingholt, while describing certain Gandhāra figures holding cornucopia remarks, "an attribute, at first sight extremely strange as horn is unclean to Hindus..." (Herald Ingholt, *Gāndhāra Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, p. 148). As remarked by Motichandra, such statements only show that the writers were unaware of the Vedic practices, and its importance as ritualistic implement in vedic India.

10 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 5; p. 99; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI-6, XV. 2.

11 Mathura Museum, J. 7.

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BIRD-CAGES (PAÑJARA OR PINJARA)

A parrot-cage also gets its depiction in one of the unidentified panels.[12] A cage, circular in shape, within which is provided a horizontal bar is depicted in the said sculpture. A parrot is also shown sitting on the horizontal bar provided in the cage. Such parrots, kept in bird-cages, were a common feature, particularly in the *antaḥpuras* in ancient India. One such bird-cage is represented in the *antaḥpura* in the present case. A parallel example of this kind of a bird-cage can be seen in Mathura art.[13]

WRITING MATERIALS

The panel illustrating 'casting of the horoscope' reveals writing materials, these include a stylus and an oblong tablet, presumably, the *tālapatra*. A rājalekhak or *rāja lipikāra* is shown casting the horoscope of prince Gautama. He is seen writing with the stylus on the oblong tablet. The stylus is a plain cylindrical rod with one end pointed and the other rounded.

The stylus is known locally as *ganṭamu* in Andhra Pradesh and is generally used to write on the *tālapatras*.

As for the material, on which the *lipikāra* in the reliefs is shown writing, it could have been palm-leaf. The Buddhist Jātakas probably refer to the leaves (*panna*) of this kind as a writing material.

COMET (DHŪMAKETU)

In the panel[14] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka the philosophy of the king Māndhātu is signified through the depiction of the comet. According to the context of the story Māndhātu, because of his greediness, was thrown down to the earth from Indra's heaven. The scene depicts the fallen and desolate king being attended to by his queens and attendants. As the king Māndhātu is nearing death, a sage or a brahmin is pointing to the appearance of the dhūmaketu in the sky. The implication in this is the philosophy of the king Māndhātu. The brahmin is pointing to the celestial sphere where he was earlier and his own fallen state.

THE FOOT-WEAR

As regards foot-wear, save for a solitary exception the bas-reliefs show the figures bare-footed. What surprises us is that the depicted persons, when we generally expect them with some sort of a foot-wear, are invariably shown without it; whether they be in processions or out for other purposes or on foot or the horse-back all these figures are shown bare-footed. In the panel[15] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka; where

12 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-a.

13 cf. The Standing female figure with cage (from Mathura Museum illustrated in B.N. Puri's *India under the Kushanas*).

14 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX-b.

15 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-a.

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the foot-wear plays a prominent role, its depiction is conspicuously absent.

One plausible explanation for this paucity of representing foot-wear in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures seems to be that it is in keeping with the general custom prevailing in south India even to this day.

It may be noted that top-boots, with braces fastened all around and upto the ankles, are generally seen on the foreigners depicted in the sculptures of Sanchi and Mathura[16] and have been referred to as *kaphs* (Persian) from which the Sanskrit name *kaphus* has been derived.[17] As early as in the 6th century B.C., the Scythians were using them.[18]

Unfortunately the ornate pillar[19] which depicts one such Scythian warrior at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā shows him bare-footed. But normally one expects him in the top-boot in the light of the rest of his kit : the cap, the full sleeved tunic, and the tight pyjama worn by him are of central Asian origin and typically Scythian. But it appears that he is deliberately shown bare footed as to be in tune with the general prevailing custom among the people of the Ikshvāku period. Although they knew about foot-wear, as is evident from the illustration on the memorial pillar it appears that they were not in the habit of its frequent use. The paucity of the representation of foot-wear can be explained by referring to the fact that the sculptor was very much meticulous and mindful of the social customs of the day which urged him to avoid its representation.

16 Such boots, but without fastenings, seemed to have gained popularity in *Vakataka*—Gupta period.

17 Motichandra, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Veśabhūsha*, p. 117.

18 McGovern, *op. cit.*, pl. 1 facing page 36.

19 Amita Ray, 'Sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā', *Marg*, vol. XVIII, No. 2, fig. 4.

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THIRTEEN

Royal Insignia

The royal insignia (*parichchhada*)[1] depicted in the bas-reliefs, generally includes a royal throne, an umbrella, a pair of fly-whisks a crown with a central gem, a sceptre, a conch of victory, a canopy of state, a golden foot stool, flags and banners.

The royal emblems—the thrones and the foot stools—have already been dealt with in the Chapter on Furniture. As for the crown with a central gem the sculptures do not represent them as the kings are always shown with turbans. The other emblems that appear in the reliefs include, (i) an umbrella (ii) fly-whisks and (iii) banners.

UMBRELLA[2] (CHHATTRA)

The *chhattra* was as much a means of protection from sun and rain as an insignia of royalty but as an insignia of royalty it was held in great esteem.

The umbrellas depicted in the relief are of three categories : royal umbrellas, umbrellas over *stūpas*, and of the humbler variety. Thus the umbrellas are seen held over kings, princes, queens, *stūpas* etc. Those of the humbler variety are dealt with under domestic equipment. Invariably the kings and princes are seen with royal umbrellas held by the *chattradharas*. The queens sometimes appear with royal umbrellas held by *chattradhāriṇis*.

(i) *Umbrellas over the kings*

As mentioned in the jātakas,[3] the umbrella-bearer, like the *chaurī*-bearer, accompanied the king even on an elephant. The panel[4] illustrating 'king Kappina's

1 B.S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa* (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 77ff.

2 For detailed account of umbrella see note on "Umbrella" on Appendix ii, by N.M. Penzer, in vol. ii, of the "Ocean of Stories," C.H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathāsarit-sāgara.*

3 *J.*,V, 532, p. 170.

4 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, L-a; cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V, fig. 16; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII; Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XV, XVI, LVII, LXI; Barua, *op. cit.*, Book III, pls. XXII, 17d-41; XLIX-51; LXXVI-101; Ajanta, XIII (*Lalit Kala Academy*).

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conversion' reveals a royal umbrella (*chhattra*) being held over the king Kappina by a *chattradhara*, as the king rides an elephant. This umbrella has a flat top and is mounted on a slender rod, presumably wooden, by means of a cup shaped neck (*Fig. XIV, 19*).

A different type of *chhattra* is met with on an inscribed pillar.[5] An umbrella with a convex top and mounted over a thick rod or stem is twice represented. The umbrellas of this type are comparatively strong and sturdy. The convex top of these umbrellas has a pointed apex and thickened brims. The stem (*daṇḍa*) is thick and presumably turned on a lathe (*Fig. XIV, 20*).

The royal umbrella was an inevitable appendage of kingship and was held over the king whether he was in processions or in *antepuras*. Layard's[6] observation seems to be correct when he says, "The umbrella or parasol, that emblem of royalty so universally adopted by Eastern Nations, was generally carried over the king in time of peace and some times even in war." An example of an umbrella held over the king when he was in harem comes from an unidentified panel. The umbrella used in this case exhibits a different shape. It has a thick rimmed top, presumably pointed, and is mounted on a short wooden *daṇḍa* or stem. The interior of the top has a chequered pattern and the stem or *daṇḍa* appears to have been fixed in the centre of it. Thus it is quite different in size and design from those hitherto described. Another interesting feature is that the umbrella, in this case, is held by a *Chhattradhāriṇī* instead of a *Chhattradhara* that, otherwise, are commonly depicted with the king. In the present case it may be due to the fact that the king is in the harem; and naturally, no male other than the king had entry into it.

(ii) *Royal umbrella over princes*

The princes also had royal umbrellas held over them by the *Chhattradharas*. The panel[7] illustrating 'the renunciation or going forth,' reveals a royal umbrella held over prince Siddhārtha by a *Chhattradhara*. This umbrella has a convex top. It is mounted on a slender stem or *daṇḍa*, presumably of wood. The stem is decorated with bands on the exterior. A similar umbrella held over prince Siddhārtha can be seen in the panel[8] illustrating 'the renunciation scene' on the inscribed frieze slab (*Fig. XIV, 21*).

(iii) *Umbrella over Queens*

Sometimes queens are also shown having royal umbrellas held over their

5 *ASIAR*, 1930-34, pl. XXXIX-C.

6 Layard's *Nineveh*, 11, 327. See also Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

7 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII. C; Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. IIXVI, IIXVII, Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. XIX-1-b, XXVII-1, XXVIII-c; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, Burgess, *op. cit.*, XVI-4; XXXII-4, XXXVIII-5, XL-L; XLI-6, Ramachandran (Goli sculptures), pl. IX, No. 6; Harald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, pl. 26, 32, 49 & 51 (Lahore).

8 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VIIIA.

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heads. Thus, in an unidentified panel[9] a queen is shown with a royal umbrella held by a *chattradhāriṇī*. It has a flat top and it is mounted on a slender rod.

(iv) *Umbrella over stūpas*

Umbrellas had also religious significance and were held over the *stūpas*. The panel[10] illustrating 'the decorated Āndhra *stūpa*' reveals double umbrellas, one over the other, with a single handle. Similar type of umbrellas are met with in the early sculptures of Amaravati,[11] Bharhut,[12] Sanchi[13] etc.

Sometimes a number of umbrellas were arranged—sprouting sideways; obviously, to indicate the superiority over temporal power. Such groups of umbrellas occur in amazing numbers in the sculptures of the 2nd-3rd century A.D. Thus in a panel[14] illustrating 'a plain Āndhra *stūpa*,' can be seen a number of umbrellas arranged one over the other and sprouting sideways from a common base. The umbrellas are all with flattish top and mounted on a slender rods, probably of wood, by means of a cup-shaped neck. Similar examples are to be seen in several sculptures of Sanchi,[15] Amaravati[16] etc.

Umbrellas were also held over relics. Thus the panel[17] illustrating 'the transport of the relics' reveals an umbrella held over the depicted relic. This umbrella has a flat top and is mounted on the slender rod. From the edges of its circular *chhattra* are seen hanging tassels. Presumably, these were made to hang through holes provided at the rim of the top (*Fig. XV,1*). Similar examples occur at Bharhut,[18] Sanchi,[19] Amaravati[20] etc.

The umbrella and a pair of fly-whisks appeared to be very important and they constituted emblems of royalty. An example of this kind comes from the panel[21] illustrating 'the nativity and the seven steps.' In this panel a royal umbrella flanked by two fly-whisks is represented. This umbrella has a convex top and is mounted on

9 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XLI-a; cf. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XLI-1-b; Barrett, *op. cit.*, VII; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-2; Ramachandran, Golī Sculptures, pl. III-G; Ajanta, pl. XIV (Lalit kala).

10 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XI-b.

11 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXI, fig. 1 and pl. V, fig. 6, cf. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 111, footnote 1.

12 Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII-17. C; LII-54.

13 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. II, VI, II, XLI, II, XLIII.

14 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XI-a.

15 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. XII.

16 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. LXI, fig. 1; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI, XXII; Burgess, *op. cit*, fig. 28, p. 33; pl. XXXII-5; XL-2.

17 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-b.

18 Barua, *op. cit.* III, pl. XXX-25.

19 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, LVI, II, LVIII.

20 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. V. fig. 1.

21 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-b.

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a slender rod by means of a cup-shaped neck. The lower ends of the spokes, supporting the top, can be seen distinctly.

References to *chattras* are in plenty in Sanskrit literature.[22]

The depiction of umbrellas in art, signifying temporal and spiritual powers is in profusion. In the early sculptures of Bharhut,[23] Sanchi[24] and Amaravati[25] the umbrellas appear over the heads of kings, princes, queens, and also over religious edifices like *stūpas* etc. Some of these umbrellas reveal close similarity to those depicted in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures. The contemporary sculptures of Goli[26] also reveal royal umbrellas over kings and princes. At Mathura a different type of umbrella which is square in shape is noticed : it has been identified by Agrawal as *padmātapatra*.[27] However, the early specimens of stone parasols of the Kushan period reveal decoration of concentric circular bands in the interior of the *chhattra* and the morticed projection in their centres gives the appearance of a lotus flower.[28]

The umbrellas of the early Gupta period[29] have fine holes on their outer rims, probably, for hanging jewellery or flowers as seen in some of the umbrellas noticed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. At Ajanta[30] two types of umbrellas are available; the convex-topped umbrellas were used by the royal personages and the flat-topped ones were used by the commoners. In the Gandhāra art we see royal umbrellas held over the princes.

Some of the Gupta coins[31] reveal umbrellas which have similarity to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā ones. Both the varieties, the convex and flat topped umbrellas, are represented on the Gupta coins.

FLY-WHISKS : (CĀMARAS)

Fly-whisks (*cāmaras*) are reckoned next in importance to the umbrella among the items of royal insignia. Generally, they are seen in the reliefs being waved by the

22 *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 64, 45, VI, 59. 24; 11. 26. 10. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 264; Pāṇini, VI, IV, 97. U.P. Sha, 'A Note on Stone umbrellas from Mathurā,' *JUHS*, vol. XXIV-XXV (1951-52), P. 206; *Praśnavyākaraṇa sūtra*, edited with com. of Jñānāvimala Suri (Ahmedabad), Vol. 1, PP. 74-76. *J*, V, 532, P. 170. *Cullavagga*, V, 23, 3; *Vinaya Texts*, iii, P. 133; *Śāk*, V, 5, P. 315.

23 Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXII-17d-41; XLIX-51, LXXVI-101; L-52; XXII-17C; LII-54; XXX-25.

24 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pls. XV, XVI, LVII, LXI; XVI; XVII, XXIX, XXXVI, XXXI, XLIX, XL, LVI, LVIII, VI, XLI, XLIII, XII; XV, XXV, LV.

25 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pls. V, fig. 2, 10, XIX-1-b, XXVII-1, XXVIII. C, XLI-1. 1, XXXIX, fig. 3, LXI, fig. 1; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XVII, XXVIII, XLIII, XLV, XIII, VII, IV, XLIV, XXI, XXII; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pls. XVIII-4, XVI-4; XXXII-4, XXXVIII-5, XL-1, XLI-6; XX-2, XXXII-6, XL-2. I.

26 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli Sculptures), pl. V-B, IX-No. 6; III-6.

27 V.S. Agarwala, 'A New Stone umbrella from Mathurā', *JUHS*, vol. XX, parts, I-II, p. 67.

28 Vidyaprakash, *JNSI*, vol. XXIII, pp. 281-282; see also Sarnath Museum, *Cat*, No. 13 (a) 1, p. 34, pl. VIII.

29 Sarnath Museum, *Cat.*, No. D(c) 1, p. 229.

30 Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, vol. XXIII, figs. 65, 68.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

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chaurī-bearers before kings, princes, queen etc. They have also religious significance when they are shown waved before the Buddha or the symbolic representation of the Buddha. The panel illustrating[32] 'the renunciation or going forth' reveals a *cāmaradhara* waving a fly-whisks before prince Siddhārtha. Probably the *cāmaradhara* was necessitated in this case, instead of the usual *cāmaradhāriṇis*, as the scene is laid outside the palace. The *cāmaradhāriṇis* were normally confined to the palaces only.

Thus the fly-whisks represented in the panels, besides being the royal insignia, imply also religious significance.

(*i*) *Fly-whisk or cāmara for the king*

As already pointed out, the fly-whisks bearers attending on the kings were females (*cāmaradhāriṇis*). In the reliefs they are either seen waving the *cāmaras* or just resting them on their shoulders. Thus the panels illustrating 'the lady Amarā and the four wise men'[33] as also the two unidentified panels,[34] reveal *chauris* held by the *cāmaradhāriṇis*. The *chaurī*-bearers are shown in the act of waving the *chauris*.

In some cases[35] the *chaurī*-bearers are shown just standing behind the king, with the *cāmara* slothfully resting on their shoulders. Similar examples are available in Amaravati sculptures.[36]

(ii) *Fly-whisk for the princes*

Two panels illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow'[37] and 'the last night before renunciation'[38] reveal fly-whisks held by the *cāmaradhāriṇis* for prince Siddhārtha : parallel examples occur at Amaravati.[39]

(iii) *Fly-whisk for the queens*

The queens also appear in the reliefs at times attended by the *chaurī*-bearers. The panel[40] illustrating 'the nativity and the seven steps' and an unidentified panel[41] reveal queens with the *cāmaradhāriṇis* attending on them. In another panel[42] illustrating 'the presentation of the child to the Śākya temple' two *chaurī*-bearers appear flanking the queen Māyā. Similar evidenee is available at Sanchi[43] and Amaravati.[44]

32 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVIII-C.
33 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-a.
34 *Ibid.*, pls. XXXVI-b; XXVI-c.
35 *Ibid.*, pl. XX-a, XXI-a, XLIII-c and XLV-a.
36 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV-2; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII.
37 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII-a.
38 *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.
39 Barrett, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, XLV
40 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-b.
41 *Ibid.*, pl. XXVI-c.
42 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI-a.
43 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, 2, pl. 31-d.
44 Burgess, *op. cit.*, fig. 18, p. 65; Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIII.

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(iv) *Fly-whisk for the Bodhisattva and the Buddha*

Fly-whisks are also seen, in the reliefs, being waved before the Bodhisattva and the Buddha. In this case, the *chaurī*-bearers were invariably males (*cāmaradharas*). The panel[45] illustrating 'the exhortation by the gods to the *Bodhisattva*' represents two *chaurī*-bearers. The Fly-whisks held by the *cāmaradharas* and waved before the Buddha are also to be seen in the panels illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park,'[46] 'Devas congratulating the Buddha after enlightenment'[47] and an unid ntified panel.[48]

That the fly-whisks were also waved before the *dharmacakras* can be known from the panel[49] illustrating 'the first sermon in the deer park:' parallel examples of this can be had at Amaravati.[50]

In early Indian art the fly-whisks appear frequently. There is not much variety, as shown in their handles but their whisks are either long and flowing or short and bushy. Both these varieties occur at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.[51] The sculptures of Sanchi and Amaravati depict many fly-whisks akin to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā ones.

BANNERS OR STANDARDS (DHVAJAS)

The banners, with the *lāñchhanas* of the royal house, formed a distinctive feature of every king's appendage. They were carried either before or behind a king. At times, the banners were seen held by the standard—bearers.

The bas-reliefs represent standards being held before the royalty as well as before the *stūpas*. The panel[52] illustrating the Daśaratha Jātaka reveals a standard held behind the prince Bharata. A male standard-bearer is shown holding it. The standard is plain and consists of a square piece mounted on a rod or stem, presumably of wood (*Fig. XV,2*).

A more decorative standard is seen in the panel[53] illustrating 'the gift of earth' A maie standard-bearer is shown holding it behind the child—the future emperor Aśoka. The standard is highly ornate and consists of a square piece mounted on a rod or stem. This standard is devided into two panels; one of these contains a decoration of dots and zig-zag lines and the other is plain. The rod has a fluted *kalaśa* on the top, just beneath the square piece. A strip, presumably of cloth, bordered with pearls or beads is seen attached to the rod (*Fig. XV, 3*).

The banner, like all other royal emblems, was also used freely for religious

45 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX-c.

46 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV-a.

47 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVII-b.

48 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV-c.

49 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIX-b.

50 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV-2; Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XII-1.

51 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXIII-c, XXXII-a, L-a, XXXVI-b, XXXVII-b, XXVI-c, XXIV-a; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. V-3; *IAR*, 1956-57, pl. VII-A.

52 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-a.

53 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-b.

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purposes. The panel[54] illustrating 'the Andhra *stūpas*' depicts banners before it. The banners consist of horizontal rods to which vertical rods are fixed in the manner of a Latin Cross : from the horizontal rods, a cloth, presumably of white silk, is seen fluttering on each banner. Plain horizontal and vertical bands decorated the cloth (*Fig. XV*, 4). Similar banners occur at Sanchi[55] and Amaravati.[56]

In art, standards are illustrated at Sanchi[57] and Amaravati.[58] Particularly at Sanchi, their depiction is frequent and they exhibit general similarity to those found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

54 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XI-c.

55 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pls. XVII-b, XI, XV, XLII, XLIV, XLVII, LXIII.

56 Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl, IV.

57 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, pls. XI, XV, XVII-b, XLII, XLIV, XLVII, LXIII.

58 Barrett, *op. cit.*, pl. IV.

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FOURTEEN

Flora and Fauna

FLORA

The flora represented in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures is scanty as compared to the represented fauna. Even the available data suffers due to rough representation. However, a fair idea of the flora of the Ikshvāku period can be culled from the clearly sculptured examples. Some of the trees such as the Pippal, Banyan, Sal etc., can be recognized at a glance. The principal trees that appear in the reliefs are briefly as follows.

TREES

(i) *The Pippal tree : (Ficus Religiosa)*

The identification of this tree is certain as it was the *bodhi* tree of *Sākyamuni.* The Buddha is shown invariably, in the panels, meditating under this tree. Thus the panels illustrating 'Māra's assault,[1] 'the gods exhorting the Buddha to proclaim his doctrine to mankind'[2] 'episodes in the career of the Buddha,'[3] and 'conversion of the *Pañchavargīyas*' reveal the Pippal tree (*aśvattha*) under which the Buddha is shown sitting. The tree is correctly represented with its pointed, single leaves.

The Pippal tree (*aśvattha*) is held sacred both by the Hindus and the Buddhists. It is the Bo-tree.[4] In the *Lalitavistara* it is stated that this tree stood in the centre lording over sylvan kingdom. According to the *Nidānakathā*, Siddhārtha obtained supreme enlightenment below this tree.[5]

This large tree now grows in the sub-Himalyan forests from the Punjab eastwards towards Bengal, Orissa, Circars, Central India and upper Burma.[6]

(ii) *The Banyan tree : (Ficus Bengalensis, Linn)*

This tree *nyagrodha* gets its depiction more than once in the reliefs. It is

1 Longhurst. *op. cit.*, pl. XXII-a.
2 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII-a.
3 *Ibid.*, pl. L-b.
4 *J.*, 1, 10; *Vin.*, IV. 35; *Dīgh.*, 11. 4; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, 11. 416.
5 *Digh.*, 11.4; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 202; cf. *Buddhavaṁśa*, ch. XXVI.
6 Sir George Watt, The Commercial Products of India, Being an abridgement of "The Dictionary of the Economic Products of India (London, 1908), p. 538.

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shown in the panels[7] illustrating 'the episodes in the career of the Buddha', 'the renunciation or going forth,[8] and 'the presentation of the child to the Śākya temple.'

The Jātakas[9] refer to the banyan trees growing on the slopes of the Himalayas. Even to this day it is found largely in sub-Himalayan forests from Peshwar to Assam in the deciduous forests of Bihar, central India and south India.[10] It is largely planted for shade.

(iii) *The Sāl tree :* (*Shorea Robusta*)

The Sāl tree is also represented frequently in the reliefs. According to the Buddhist texts, Māyā Devī gave birth to Siddhārtha while standing under a Sāl tree. Thus the panels[11] 'the nativity and seven steps' and 'offering of food to the Buddha after the enlightenment[12] depict a Sāl tree.

According to Gambli[13] it is found pesently in two principal regions in India, namely, the Himalayan region and the central India—covering the regions upto Visakhapatnam area in Andhra Pradesh.

(iv) *The Aśoka tree :* (*Saraca indica*)

This tree is represented in the panel[14] illustrating 'the gift of earth.' A river goddess is shown under this tree. References to this tree are plenty in ancient literature. It has red flowers and is said to be useful for worship.

(v) *The Mango tree* (*Mangifera Indica*)

The Mango tree appears in the reliefs frequently. The panel[15] illustrating the Mahāpaduma jātaka reveals Mango trees in the vicinity of a hermitage. Another panel[16] illustrating a village scene also shows it.

The Mango tree (*amba*) is referred to frequently in the Buddhist texts.[17] The *Jīvaka-ambavana* was well known in Buddhist period.[18]

(vi) *The Sītā-phal tree* (*Annona Squamosa*)

This tree is represented only once in the reliefs. The panel[19] illustrating 'the

7 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, L-b.
8 *Ibid.*, pl. XXI-a.
9 *J*, 1, 218.
10 Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 536.
11 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XX-b.
12 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVII-b.
13 Quoted by Sir George Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 990.
14 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-b.
15 *Ibid.*, pl. XLV-b.
16 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.
17 *Dīgh*, 1. 46, 53; *Milinda*, 46. *Petavatthu* commentary, 111. 207; *Vimānavatthu* commentary 198.
18 Law, *op. cit.*, pl. II, p. 367.
19 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV-a.

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Buddha and Nanda on a visit to heaven depicts this tree; two monkeys are shown plucking the fruits on this tree. A similar tree is represented in Bharhut and Mathura sculptures.

(vii) *The Śirīṣa tree* : (*Acacia Sirisa : Albizzia Lebbek*)

This tree is only once represented in the panel illustrating 'the king denouncing Brahmanism.' The leaves of this tree have thorns on them.

It is interesting to note that a majority of the flora represented in the reliefs is still grown in Andhara Pradesh. Trees like the Pippal, the Banyan, the Sal, the Mango and the Sītā-phal are abundantly grown in the regions in and around Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley. It is quite reasonable that the surrounding sylvan culture should have been the subject matter for the sculptor while depicting the Jātaka stories and life-scenes of the Buddha. The other trees which are alien to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā might have been borrowed by the artists of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā either from their depictions in early Indian art or from the Buddhist texts. However, the depiction of the flora is evidently scanty.

FAUNA

The represented fauna in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures is of two classes, namely, the real and of the mythical animals (*īhāmṛgas* or *vyālas*).[20] The latter are in a limited variety, and include lion with horn, or beaked or with wings and the lion and *makara* type. The real animals comprise quadrupeds like lion, elephant, horse, bull, buffalo, cow, monkey, boar, dog, goat, ram, rat, lamb, rat, jackal,otter, antelope, spotted deer, hare, reptiles like the snakes, birds like parrot, peacock, crow, dove, and acquatic animals such as fish, duck etc.

Classification

The real fauna, illustrated in the reliefs, are classified on the basis of their adaptation[21] as (I) creeping (II) swimming, (III) walking and running (IV) jumping and (V) flying.

CREEPING CREATURES

Creeping animals here are understood to be those which are able to move upon a firm surface without the aid of pair jointed limbs of the type found in a dog. This category includes the serpents or snakes which creep with their rows of broad ventral scales: the serpents are frequently represented in the reliefs.

In the panel[22] illustrating 'the Buddha protected by the serpent king *nāga*

20 The term *īhāmṛiga* was generally used from olden times for fabulous animals (*Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, Sundara, 9. 13, 18. 8), but from the Gupta period onwards the term *vyāla* came into frequent use. The vyālas such as Śuka, Garuda, Mesha etc. were known. (M. Dhaky, *The vyāla Figures on the Medieval temples of India* (Varanasi 1965), p. 7.

21 This classification is after E.M. Rich, "*Guide to the collections in the Horniman Museum and Library* (London country council), p. 92.

22 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII-b.

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Muchalinda' at Gaya a seven-hooded cobra is depicted. It is identified as the serpent king *nāga* Muchalinda who protected the Buddha from the hostile elements. Nāga Muchalinda is again depicted in some other panel[23] but with five hoods: the panel[24] illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka shows a snake. According to the context of the story, the *nāga* king Campeyya was caught by a snake-charmer and was made to play before the king of Banaras.

In early Indian art the serpent is frequently depicted. At Bharhut,[25] a seven hooded *nāga* is depicted : likewise at Amarāvatī, the panels depicting 'the Buddha protected by the *nāga* Muchalinda' and the Campeyya Jātaka reveal multihooded *nāgas*.[26] One contamporary sculpture at Goli[27] also depicts a huge seven-hooded *nāga*.

SWIMMING CREATURES

Fishes are represented twice in our reliefs, apart from those that appear on the slabs depicting the *Buddhapāda*. The panel[28] illustrating the Śaśa jātaka (Pl. XXXIII) depicts a fish. Again, on a sculptural fragment,[29] two men are shown—one of whom is holding a string on which are hooked two fish while the other carries a pair of fish in each hand.

WALKING AND RUNNING CREATURES

The animals adapted for this type of locomotion are the lion, elephant, horse bull, buffalo, cow, otter, porcupine, jackal, dog, ram, goat, rat etc. These animals have been meticulously represented in the reliefs.

Such animals whose locomotion is effected by walking and running can be broadly divided into (A) wild type (B) domestic type. Thus the wild animals include the lion, elephant, otter, boar, jackal and rat, and domestic animals comprise the horse, bull, buffalo, cow, dog, ram and the goat.

WILD ANIMALS

(i) *The lions*

In the reliefs lions are represented more than once, they are easily distinguishable due to their manes. A meticulous delineation of the lion is to be seen in the panel[30] illustrating the Śaśa Jātaka (*Fig. XV, 5*). Its long and curled tail is depicted

23 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI-c.

24 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII-b.

25 Barua, *op. cit.*. pl. LXXX-109.

26 See for depictions in Amaravati sculptures, Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli sculptures), p. 33 wherein references to Amaravati sculptures of third and fourth periods are given.

27 *Ibid.*, pl. XII.

28 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII-b.

29 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-13-6.

30 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII-b.

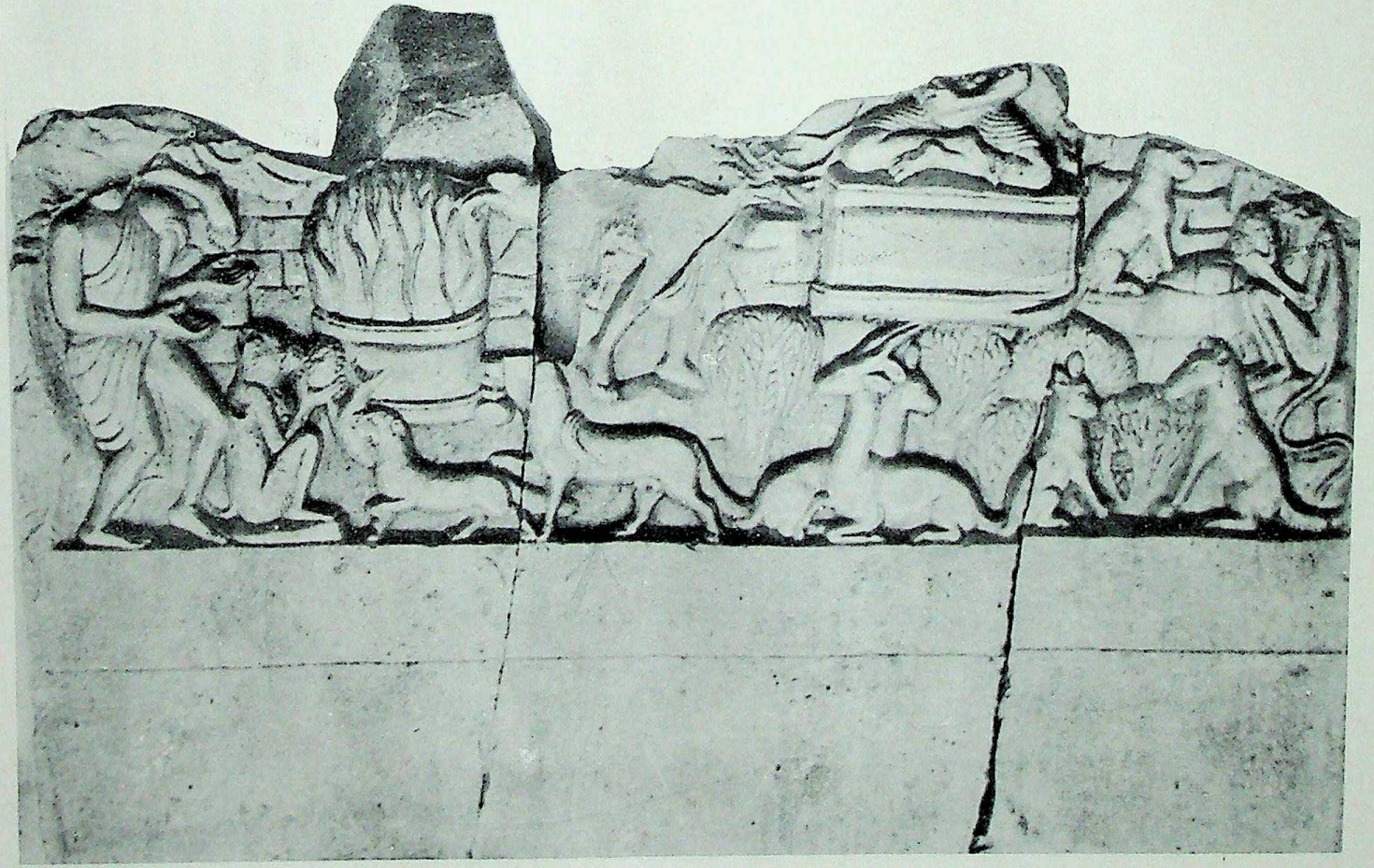

Plate XXXIII Sasa Jataka

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realistically. The panel[31] illustrating 'the *nāga* king Apalāla subdued by the Buddha' also depicts a lion in a den. A lion is also seen in the panel illustrating a village scene. Sometimes lions are seen in the frieze borders, and the depiction of the lions at the entrances of a *stūpa* is an oft-repeated theme.

In early Indian art the depiction of lions is very frequent. The sculptures of Bharhut,[32] Sanchi,[33] Amaravati,[34] Goli,[35] Mathura and Gandhāra[36]—all depict lions in some of the Jātaka stories. At Goli a lion is represented in the panel illustrating the Vessantara Jātaka.

(ii) *The elephants*

The elephants appear to have been a favourite subject of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptors. This animal is represented almost in every possible position in the reliefs. They are shown standing, walking, running, sitting, and kneeling down in reverence before the holy feet of the Buddha.

An ornate pillar[37] reveals an elephant with a rider (*hastipaka*). At times three persons are shown riding an elephant as can be seen on another ornate pillar.[38] Another similar instance[39] can be seen in the panel illustrating 'Māra's assault,' here, Māra, his *hastipaka* and an attendant appear riding on an elephant. In the panel[40] illustrating 'the *Bodhisattva* descending from the heaven in the form of a white elephant,' the elephant is shown with its trunk uplifted. In another panel[41] an elephant is depicted to represent one of the seven jewels of the king. The panel[42] illustrating 'the subjugation of the elephant Nalagirī, reveals the elephant in two aspects. First, it appears as a rogue elephant—furious and trampling the men; and next it appears as a subdued animal kneeling down at the feet of the Buddha in great reverence (*Fig. XV, 6*).

Elephants played a vital role in wars: they formed one of the four wings of the army. That they were used in battles can be known from the panel[43] illustrating a battle scene. Elephants were maintained by the State. Kings used to ride the State elephants in royal procession etc. The well-known elephant of Airāvata of Indra, is to be seen in the panel illustrating 'the Buddha visited by Indra in the cave of Indrāśaila.' Elephants

31 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XL, a.
32 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIX.
33 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI.
34 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 2.
35 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. V-D-2.
36 Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 453 to 458.
37 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. IX-a.
38 *Ibid.*, pl. X-b.
39 *Ibid.*, pl. XXII-b.
40 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX-d.
41 *Ibid.*, pl. XXX-b.
42 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII-b.
43 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIV-b.

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have had a unique position in Indian lore and tradition. The panel[44] illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion' depicts a State elephant over which king Kappina is seen riding. The royal procession includes many elephants, horses, etc. In the same panel we can see a seated elephant and king Kappina is shown riding it.

The depiction of elephants in early Indian art, is an oft-repeated theme which occurs through the centuries.[45] The sculptures revealing the life scenes of the Buddha and the Jātaka stories depict elephants frequently. Thus the sculptures of Bharhut,[46] Sanchi,[47] Amaravati,[48] Goli,[49] Mathura, and Gandhāra,[50] illustrate elephants in different contexts. The well caparisoned elephants used for state function as well as the strong and sturdy ones for war and riding are depicted in the sculptures.

(iii) *The otter*

This wild animal is represented in the reliefs only once; thus the panel[51] illustrating the Śaśa Jātaka depicts an otter in a group of animals (*Fig. XV, 7*).

(iv) *The boar*

A wild boar is represented in the panel[52] illustrating the Māndhātu Jātaka, its hair are also depicted on its body (*Fig. XV. 8*).

(v) *The jackal*

The jackal is also represented only once in the reliefs, in the Śaśa Jātaka;[53] it is seen sitting in front of a hare.

(vi) *The rat*

The rat, too, occurs only once in our reliefs in the panel[54] illustrating 'the conversion of the *yaksha* Ālavaka'.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

(i) *The horses*

Next to the elephants, the horses are frequently depicted in the reliefs. The well

44 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. L-a.

45 Helene McCraig, Elephant in Indian Art, *Times of India Annual.*

46 Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. XX. 16, XXVI-35; LXIX-83; LXXVI-101, LXXIX-107, LXXXII-117; LXXXIV-124; LXXXVI-127; LXXXVII-128; XCIII-141, XCIII-141-c; XCI-142; XCVI-148; 148a, XCVII-148c.

47 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, XV, XXIII, XL, XLVI, LXI, XXIX.

48 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 1.

49 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Golī sculptures), Pls. I-c-1, III, H-1; IV-A. 2; VII-A-2; XI-9.

50 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 1,6.

51 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII-b. It is mentioned in Vedic literature as *Udra* (Macdonell & Keith : 1, 89).

52 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIII-a.

53 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII-b.

54 *Ibid.*, pl. XLIX-b.

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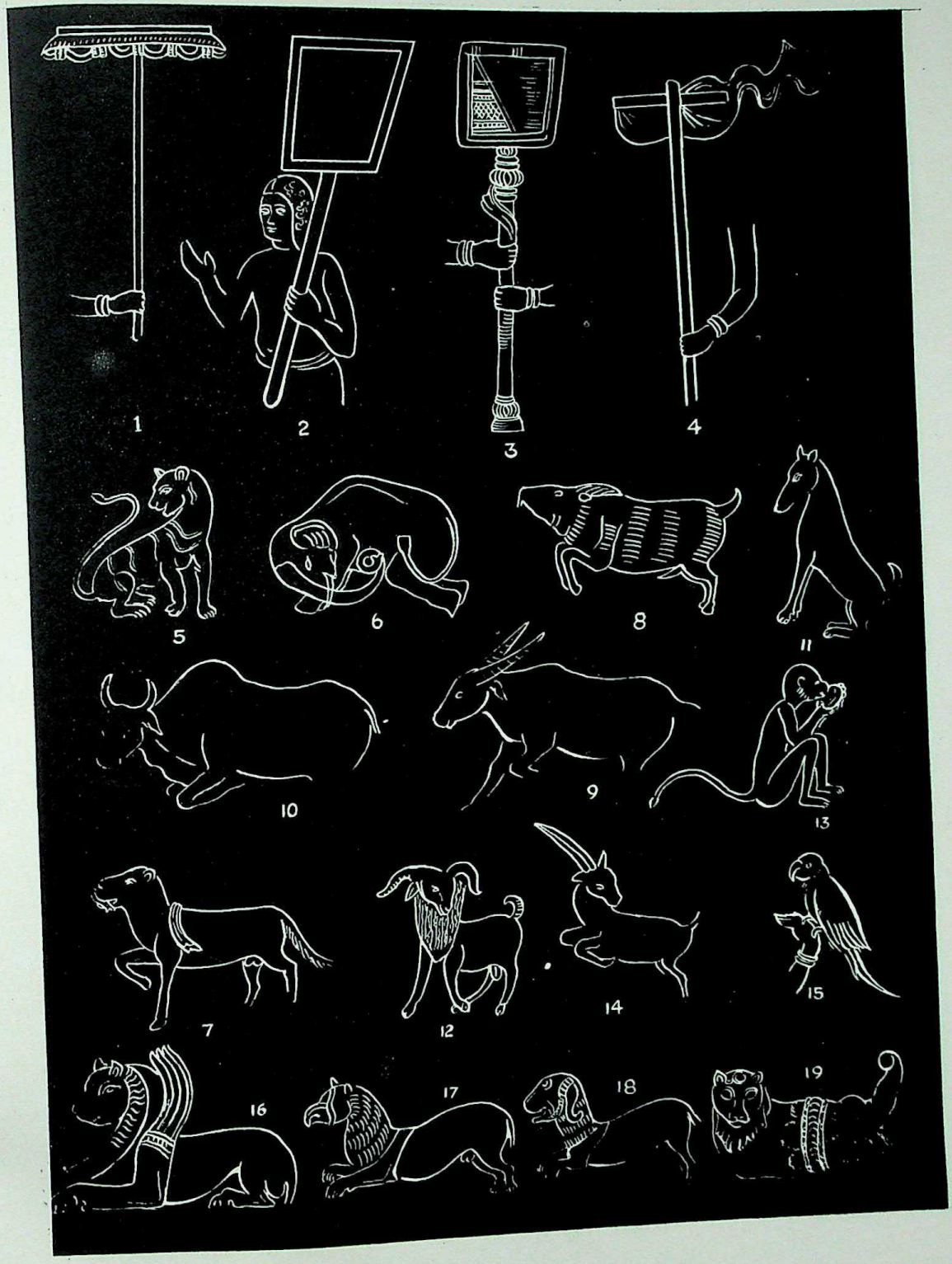

Fig. XV Royal Insignia, and Fauna

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caprisoned horse *kanthaka* appears thrice in the panels. The panels[55] illustrating 'the renunciation or going forth,' and 'Chandaka's *nivedana* about Siddhārtha's *abhiniṣkramaṇa*' represent caparisoned horses.

Sometimes, horses were used by the soldiers for riding as seen in the panel[56] illustrating 'king Kappina's conversion,' 'conversion of the six *Śākya* princes,' and in the Māhapaduma Jātaka. In times of war the horses played a very important role. The cavalry was one of the four wings of the army. The war-steeds of the Ikshvāku period can be seen in the panel[57] illustrating the battle scene.

In two panels[58] depicting 'the *cakravartin* surrounded by seven jewels,' the horse is represented as one of the seven jewels of the king.

In Bharhut[59] sculptures the depiction of horses is comparitively rare. But at the same time its depiction in the contemporary sculptures of Sanchi[60] is profuse. Innumerable horse riders, both foreign and local occur frequently in the reliefs of Sanchi. At Amaravati[61] many panels revealing the life scenes of the Buddha and the Jātaka stories, depict horses. Similarly, the sculptures of Mathura and Gandhāra[62] reveal many caparisoned horses. The treatment of this subject throughout the early Indian art is uniform and the figures are well conceived and fairly executed.

(ii) *The bulls*

Two panels[63] illustrating 'offering of food to the Buddha after the enlightenment' and 'Trapusha and Bhallika visiting the Buddha,' depict bulls.

The sculptures of Bhārhut,[64] Sanchi,[65] Amaravati,[66] and Gandhāra[67] illustrate the bulls resembling those found depicted in the reliefs of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

(iii) *The buffalo*

The buffalo is represented only once in the reliefs—on an ornate pillar[68] two buffoloes are to be seen (*Fig. XV, 9*).

(iv) *The cow*

A cow is also represented only in one panel illustrating the Campeyya Jātaka

55 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXI-b, XXVIII-c; XXX-b.
56 *Ibid.*, pls. XXV-a, XIX-b, XLV-b, L-a.
57 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIII-b.
58 *Ibid.*, pls. XXX-b; XXXII-c.
59 Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI-21. 24; XC-134.
60 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pls. XII, XXIII, XXIX, XL, LXI.
61 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII-4-c.
62 Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 72, fig. 104; pl. 84, fig. 119.
63 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVII-b; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. IV-B.
64 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV, fig. 1; XVII, fig. 10.
65 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. LII-a.
66 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 5.
67 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 36, 53, 164-B, XXIX-2.
68 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. 18-B.

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(*Fig. XV, 10*). Here in a field, a herd of cows is shown grazing.

(v) *The dog*

A Dog is represented in the panel[69] illustrating the village scene (*Fig. XV, 11*). It is shown sitting in front of a hut.

(vi) *The rams*

The rams are illustrated more than once in the sculpture. It is twice represented (*Fig. XV, 12*) on an ornate pillar.[70]

In art, comparable examples are to be seen in Bharhut[71] and Gandhāra[72] sculptures.

(vii) *The lambs*

The lamb (*Mesha śiśu*) gets its representation thrice in the reliefs.[73]

(viii) *The goat*

A goat is also represented only once in the reliefs—on an ornate pillar[74]

JUMPING CREATURES

Under this category, animals like the monkey, antelope, spotted deer, and hare are represented in the reliefs.

(i) *The monkeys*

The monkeys were apparently a favourite subject for the early Indian artist, particularly, when he depicted Buddhist sculptures. In the panel[75] illustrating the Śaśa Jātaka a monkey is twice represented (*Fig. XV, 13*). Again, in another panel,[76] illustrating 'the Buddha and Nanda on a visit to heaven,' a monkey sitting on a boulder at the edge of a pond is shown. The panel illustrating[77] the Mahāpaduma Jātaka shows a monkey clinging to a gateway; in the same panel another monkey is seen, climbing a tree. In all the cases depicting monkeys a long and a heavy tail is to be seen on the animal.

69 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.

70 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. IX-a and b and d.

71 Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXX, 111.

72 Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. 66, fig. 95; Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 23.

73 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, a, b, c.

74 *Ibid.*, pl. IX-a.

75 *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII-b.

76 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXV-a. It is a blind monkey, for contrast, and Nanda's evaluation of Janapada Kalyani Surasundaris.

77 *Ibid.*, XLV-b.

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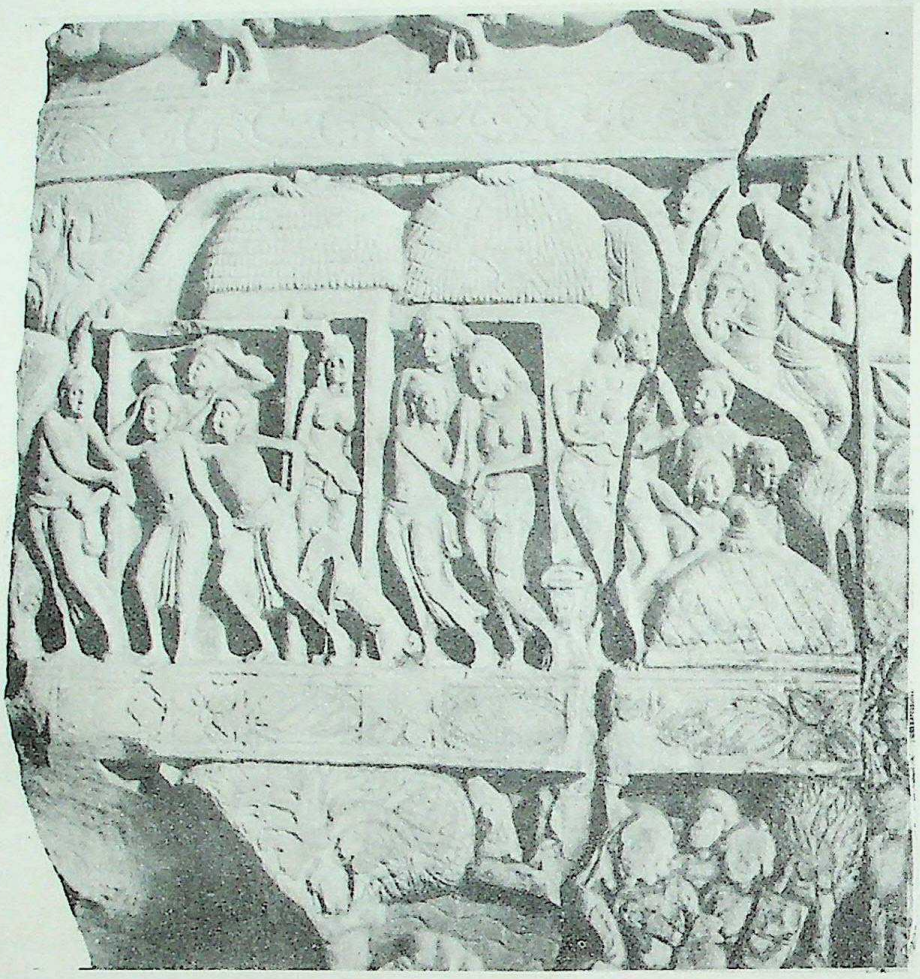

Plate XXXIV The Village Scene

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At Bharhut.[78] the monky is frequently depicted. The sculptures of Sanchi,[79] and Goli[80] also illustrate monkeys at several places.

(ii) *The antelopes*

Two panels[81] illustrating the Śaśa Jātaka and 'the *nāga* king Apalāla subdued by the Buddha' depict antelopes (*Fig. XV, 14*). In the latter panel we can see the jumping posture of the animal; four antelopes are shown in such a posture.

(iii) *The spotted-deers*

They are represented twice in the reliefs. The panel illustrating 'the village scene' represents a spotted deer (Pl. XXXIV).

Comparable examples of the deer occur in the sculptures of Bharhut,[82] Sanchi,[83] Amaravati.[84] Goli,[85] Gandhāra[86] and Ajanta.[87]

(iv) *The hare*

Hare appears only in one panel[88] illustrating the Śaśa Jātaka. It is shown jumping into the fire.

FLYING CREATURES

This category of fauna is represented in our reliefs by birds like the parrot, duck, pigeon, peacock and the crow.

(i) *The parrots*

Parrots occur in the reliefs more than once. Thus, the panel,[89] illustrating 'the admission of the six Śakya princes and the barber Upālī to the order,' illustrates a parrot sitting on the hand of an amorous lady (*Fig. XV, 15*). In another instance,[90]

78 Barua, *op. cit.*, pls. XXVIII-24; LXXXIII-122; LXXIII-95; LXXIX-105; LXXXVI-127; XCVI-148, 148a; XCVII-148c.

79 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, II, XXXVI.

80 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Golī sculptures), V-2-c; VI-F.

81 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XVIII-b; XL-b.

82 Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX-89.

83 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11, pl. XLVI.

84 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, 3.

85 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Golī) pl. V-2-D; VI-F.

86 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 129.

87 Ajantā, pl. XVIII (*Lalit Kala Akadami*, New Delhi).

88 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII-b.

89 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXIV-b. "*Prechantiva madhura vacannm Sairkam...*," seems to be the purpose of the scene of the lady turning to the *Sarika* nestling on her hand (cf. Kālidāsa).

90 *Ibid.*, XXVI-a.

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it is seen in a cage inside a palace. Parallel examples occur in Śuṅga,[91] Mathura[92] and Gandhāra[93] art.

(ii) *The ducks*

Ducks are represented in the reliefs at several places. The panel[94] illustrating 'prince Siddhārtha in the pleasure garden,' portrays a duck. Again, it occurs in a vertical panel.[95] In another instance we can see a row of ducks flying. Comparable examples can be had in early sculptures, as at Bharhut[96] in the Haṁsa Jātaka.

(iii) *The pigeon*

A Pigeon occurs in the panel[97] illustrating the Śibī Jātaka (Pl. XXXV). The king Śibī is shown holding the bird in his hand.

(iv) *The peacocks*

The peacocks are depicted in the reliefs only once. The panel[98] representing 'offering of food to the Buddha after enlightenment,' illustrates a peacock along with ducks. Peacocks are mostly wild (*raṇabarhi*) but occasionally they are tamed (*bhavana śikhin*) for play (*krīḍā mayūra*).

Peacocks appear in the early sculptures abundantly. At Bharhut,[99] they are seen on the sides of pillars and on medallions. Similarly its depiction can be had in Sanchi,[100] Amaravati[101] and Gandhāra[102] sculptures.

(v) *The crows*

This is represented only once in the reliefs; the panel[103] illustrating the village scene reveals a crow perching on a hut roof.

As seen above the fauna known to the Ikshvāku period is abundant. The carnivorous animals like lion, otters, jackals, etc., and the herbivorous animals like hare, deers etc., were all known to them. The existence of these various herbivorous animals indirectly suggests the variety of flora on which these animals fed.

91 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
92 Yakshī (in Mathurā Museum), holding a parrot in a cage.
93 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 244.
94 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVI-a.
95 *Ibid.*, pl. XLI-a.
96 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
97 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII-a.
98 *Ibid.*, XLVII-b.
99 Barua, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXI-91; LXXII-93.
100 Marshall and Foucher, *op. cit.*, 11, pls. XIII, XXXII, XXXIX.
101 Burgess, *op. cit.*, XV. 2.
102 Herald Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 460.
103 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures), pl. XXX-A.

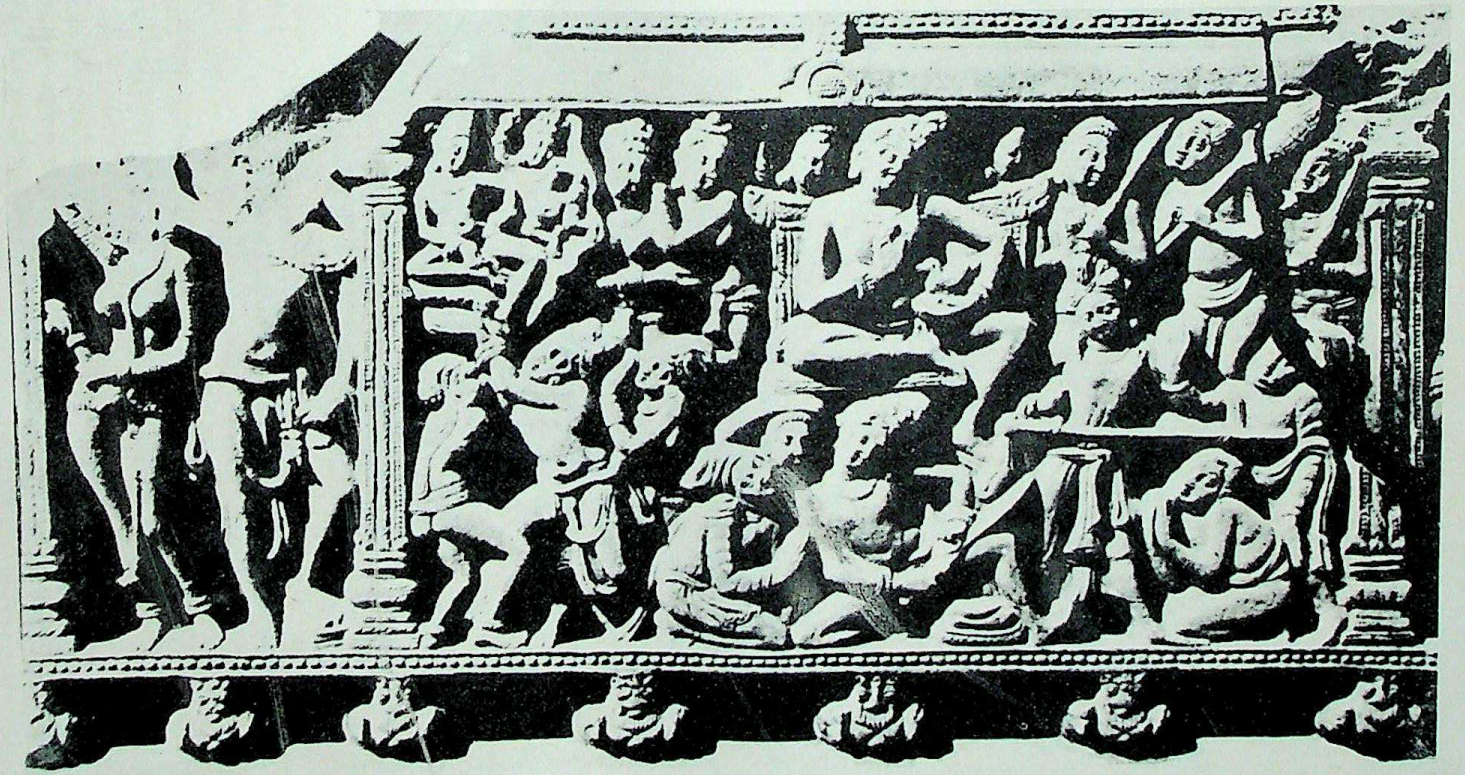

Plate XXXV Sibi Jatak

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The people domesticated animals like horses, goats, cows, bulls. The dogs were used for house guarding. The horns of the bull, the deer, etc., were possibly used in the manufacture of various articles. The skins of deer, buffalo and the like were possibly utilized in various ways. The elephant was used on both the State and ordinary occasion. The parrots appear to be the bird of pleasure for the ladies living in harems and who kept them as pets.

In sculptures the treatment of this subject is very successful. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍā artists have meticulously depicted the animal kingdom in the reliefs. The animals illustrated are well concieved and animated. The elephants in the reliefs are most successfully treated. Similar is the case with the horses and deer. The slender limbs of the latter are excellently executed by the sculptors. But the most spirited of all the animals shown are the monkeys. Their attitudes have been realistically and impeccably portrayed in these sculptures.

However, it is noteworthy that a majority of fauna represented in the reliefs is identical with the present day fauna in Andhra Pradesh. Till recently, the inaccessible Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley had wild animals like otter, boar, jackal, monkey, antelopes, spotted deers, hare etc. : reptiles like the cobra, of both brown and black colour, frequented the valley. The birds of all types such as parrots, peacocks, crows could be seen in the valley. As for the acquatic beings, the river Kṛishṇā provided a variety of fishes. The domestic animals such as horse, humped bull, buffalo, cow, dog, goat, ram and lamb are all known to the people who live in the vicinity of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Among the wild animals depicted in the reliefs, the lion and the elephant are absent at present. But other wild animals like cheetahs and panthars were found in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley. The variety of fauna in the surrounding environment, coupled with the requirements of the texts of the Jātaka stories like Śaśa, Compeyya, etc., may have inspired the sculptors to carve them on stone.

MYTHICAL ANIMALS

The mythical animals (*īhāmṛgas*) represented in the reliefs are limited in variety and include winged-lions, beaked-lions, horned-lions (*vyalas*)[104] and lion and *makara* types. These *īhāmṛgas* can be divided into (a) aerial (*vyomacārin*) and (b) terrestrial (*bhūcārin*) types by the presence of certain limbs. Thus the winged lion falls under the aerial type while the beaked and horned lions are to be classed as terrestrial monsters (*vyālas*).

AERIAL OR ATMOSPHERIC (VYOMACARIN)

(i) *The winged-lion*

On a sculptured fragment[105] occurs an addorsed winged-lion over the *pūrṇaghaṭa* (*Fig. XV, 16*). This is the only depiction of the monster in the entire range of

104 From the coping stones of the *stūpas* of later Āndhra and Ikshvāku period, the *vyāla* travelled to the west and reappeared in the basement of some of the earliest Karnata temples (M.A. Dhaky, *The Vyala figures in the Medieval Temples of India* (1965-Varanasi), p. 12.

105 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII-C.

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the reliefs. Winged-lions are generally shown in sculptures on the capital of pillars in an elevated position to suggest their habitat in the aerial regions. Parallel examples of such winged-lions are available at Amaravati.[106] A similar mythical animal is also commonly seen in Persian sculptures.[107]

TERRESTRIAL (BHŪCĀRIN)

The beaked-lions and horned-lions fall under this category. The lack of wings confines them to land.

(i) *The beaked-lion*

The beaked-lion occurs in the reliefs more than once. The panel[108] illustrating the Magāpaduma Jātaka reveals a beaked-lion decorating the roof of a palace interior (*Fig. XV, 17*). This may represent the *garuḍa vyāla.* Another beaked-lion is again met with in the panels[109] illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka and a village scene. This beaked animal with a leonine body may again represent the *garuḍa vyala.*[110] Somewhat similar examples occur at Sanchi[111] and Amaravati.[112] The Sanchi specimen has a slightly different rump.

(ii) *The horned-lion*

This mythical animal is represented in the Panel[113] illustrating the Ghaṭa Jātaka (*Fig. XV, 18*). The ram-horned lion depicted here is ferocious as seen in the Sanchi[114] specimens. But the horned-lions of Amaravati[115] are meek and have some features of an antelope. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍā specimen possibly represent the *mesha vyāla.*[116]

These *garuḍa,* and *mesha vyālas* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā may be the incipient examples of the elaborate *vyālas* of the later period.

(iii) *The lion-and-makara*

These are generally seen in the reliefs, serving as mounts to 'the ladies in *dohada*'. Thus the panel[117] illustrating 'the gift of earth' represents a lady in *dohada*

106 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 7.
107 *Ibid.*, p. 92.
108 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV-b.
109 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI-a; Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX-A.
110 cf. Dhaky, *op. cit.*, fig. 38, p. 28.
111 A. Grunwedel, *Buddhist Art in India,* translated by Burgess (London, 1901), p. 49, fig. 25.
112 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, fig. 14.
113 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI-a.
114 Grunwedel, *op. cit.*, 1, fig. 10.
115 Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX, fig. 2.
116 Dhaky, *op. cit.*, fig. 20, p. 23.
117 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, XXXV-b.

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with a lion-and-*makara* as her mount (*Fig. XV, 19*). Similarly the panels[118] illustrating 'Siddhārtha and the mighty bow,' and an unidentified panel,'the death of the Buddha' and another sculptural fragment—all depict a lady in *dohada* standing on a lion-and-*makara* mount.

Apart from these sculptural depictions of the lion-cum-makara beast, the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā are reported[119] to have yielded another mythical animal,—an elephant with a fish-like rear. This may be identified as the *gajavktra jhasha* mentioned in the Mahabharata.[120] Kālidāsa[121] calls it *mātaṅganakra*. Coomaraswamy[122] points to the similarity of the *gajavaktra-jhasha* with the *jalebha*. Grunwedel[123] calls this animal as a sea-elephant and defines it as "A creature formed of the fore-parts of an elephant with the body and the tail of a fish." At Amaravati an exact parallel of this is met with.

The *īhāmṛgas* sculptured at Bharhut,Jaggayyapeṭa, Sanchi, Amaravati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reveal almost identical shapes. The winged-lions of Persia also resemble very much those noticed at Sanchi, Amaravati and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

118 Longhurst, *op. cit.*, pls. XXXII-a; XXXIII-c, XXVIII-a; XXIX-c and Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Nāgārjunakoṇḍā) IX-5.

119 It is suggestive that Lion and Makara can be the bracket edge of the frieze.

120 *Mahābhārata*, iii, 173, 50.

121 *Ragh.*, xiii, 11 "*Matanganakaraih Saha Sotpataddhish bhinnan dvidha* pasya Samudra phenam' see also Sivaramamurti,'*Sculpture inspired in Kālidāsa*, (Samskṛta Academy, Madras, 1942).

122 Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas*, 1] (1931), p. 50.

123 Grunwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

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FIFTEEN

Epilogue

The foregoing account of the rich material culture delineated in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs tries to present vividly the pattern of life that thrived during the Ikshvāku period in the 3rd-4th centuries A.D. Religion, some foreign elements, and a large measure of indigenous traits are seen to have left an indelible impress on the society and civilization that flourished during the period.

The Ikshvāku period was a formative period in Indian history. People enjoyed peace and tranquility. They were prosperous and thriving, for it is only an affluent society that can create such magnificent edifices of its culture and heritage as those found at Nāgārjunakoḍṇā. Evidently, the economic prosperity, coupled with congenial political peace and religious zeal, resulted in creation of a flourishing society which was fit to assimilate new trends as also to transform the older ones. Hence we notice, at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, the emergence of many new trends and revival of the older ones.

The architecture revealed in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs is unmistakably an urbanised one. The palace interiors, city gates, and gateways, etc., illustrated in the reliefs were of the highest form of civil architecture and all are of urban type. The palaces of the Ikshvāku period generally had a *heṭṭha-pāsāda* and an *upari pāsāda* as can be surmised from their sculptural depictions. All palace interiors were capacious and luxurious with ornate pillars supporting the roofs; all within a *prākāra* embellished with gates and entrances.

The richness and the grandeur of civil architecture as seen in their sculptural depictions are well attested by the archaeological evidence. The glorious city, Vijayapurī, laid bare during the excavations along the banks of the river Kṛishṇā stands testimony to the well developed concept of town-planning in the Ikshvāku period. The palace buildings, arenas, amphitheatres, residential structures, elaborate bathing *ghāts*, all these bespeak the highly urbanised life lived by the people of the Ikshvāku period. The *rājamārgas*, lanes and bylanes, were all neatly laid.

The rich and the royal lived in palaces, while the middle class and the poor lived in the tile-roofed houses and huts respectively. Little is known of the dwellings of the commonalty from the sculptures; for the artists of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā were particular in depicting the rich urban economy. The homesteads of the poor, however,

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consisted of thatched huts, these huts had no doors. Perhaps the doors were detachable and used only when necessary, like those used even to this day by the primitive local tribes like the Chenchus and Lambāḍis inhabiting the Kṛishṇā Valley. It is noteworthy that the huts of the poor very much resembled the present day manner of the Chenchu dwellings, thereby indicating the continuity of the indigenous tradition in residential architecture of the local.

The village plan of the Ikshvāku period appears to have comprised huts (*kuṭīs*), courtyard (*ajīra*) and gateways, marked by two wooden pillars with a cross beam mounted on, at the boundaries. It is probable that in the incipient stage the *grāma* comprised small groups of huts, and probably, the *gāma-pa*(*chaka*) or *grāma-pañchaka* mentioned in some of the epigraphical records, may mean five such small hut-establishments grouped together.

The decoration of the palace buildings with *chaitya* windows (*kapotapālikas*) was a feature of the Ikshvāku period. These *chaitya* windows were either of simple arches or contained symbols like the *siri-vachchha* or *kīrtimukha* at the apex. Obviously, this *kīrtimukha* motif could have been an indigenous one and might have possibly contributed to its later elaborated form. However, it will be too much to infer that the south was the originator of the *kīrtimukha*.

Nāgārjunakoṇḍā, which was the meeting place of so many Buddhist sects during the Ikshvāku period, betrays their impact in its architectural elements. The *stūpas* and *vihāras* exposed at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā do not reveal any identical type of establishments elsewhere. Evidently, this may be due to reasons of monastic architecture being related to the ideological differences. Thus, the introduction of the *āyaka* platform in the *stūpa* architecture was an act of one particular sect at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. However, the *āyaka* platform was not the characteristic trait of the *Āndhra stūpa* architecture, as *stūpas* devoid of *āyakas* were also discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and Salihundam. Another peculiar feature of the *stūpa* architecture at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā is the general absence of the railing. Even though the plastic representations give a complete picture of the *stūpa*, including the railings, the excavations have exposed *stūpas* without railing also. Another noticeable feature is that the *bodhigṛihas* are totally absent in the reliefs. The religious symbols like *dharmacakra* and *svastika* had inspired the architects to adopt them in the layout of the plan of the *stūpas*. Similar might have been the case with the four, eight, and ten spoked *stūpas* discovered at the place. Thus the ideological concept was happily harmonised with the architectural requirements.

Concerning the dress of the people of Ikshvāku period there seems to have been no difference between the royalty and the commoners, either in the articles of dress or in the mode of wearing them. If at all there existed any variance in the dress of these two classes it could have been in the material. In general, people were scantily dresseds that mostly comprised *langoṭī*(*s*) secured by means of waist-bands and an occasional upper-garment. The way the *langoṭī* was worn--leaving a part of its end dangling in front very much resembles the current mode of dress of the local Chenchu tribals,which indicates the indigenous element in the dress of the people of of Ikshvāku period. However, foreign impact in the matter of dress can be seen in case of some sections of the

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contemporary people,—like ministers princes, generals, foreign soldiers, grooms etc. The graceful dress of the ministers included a close fitting tunic (or an *achkan*) having sleeves up to the waist and a waist-band was worn with it at the waist that had a sword attached to it. An *uttarīya* was worn over the tunic, in various fashions, of which the commonest was the one worn like an *upavīta*. Their lower bodies were covered with a pyjama or a trouser or the *dhotī*, reaching upto their ankles. Most of their dress appears to be of foreign import. The princes too wore full sleeved tunics like the ministers. The generals wore close fitting trousers or pyjamas as their lower garment.

Among the soldiers the foreigners distinguish themselves in the reliefs by their dress, which constitutes a full-sleeved or half-sleeved (*kūrpāsaka*) tunic and a pyjama or a trouser. The introduction of the foreign soldiers in the sculptures is, once again, the result of foreign impact in the Ikshvāku art. Among the lower classes the grooms used the tunic as a dress : the tunic, by these, was always worn over a *langoṭī* unlike the ministers who wore the tunic always over a pyjama or a *dhotī*. However, the ideal representation of this class of dress can be seen in the case of Channa, who invariably appears, in the reliefs, with a short shirt resembling the Roman tunic.

The full-sleeved coat or tunic, or the *chīna cholaka* type of garment as identified by Agrawal, appears to be a non-indigenous introduction at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā : in India, it came with the Scythians. In the Mathura art some of the Kushan kings of the central Asian origin are shown wearing similar coats.

The pyjamas or trousers worn by ministers and generals in the reliefs seem also to be of foreign origin, again, the garment was of the central Asian origin. Evidently, this apparel was introduced by the Śakas in India. Thus, in the matter of dress of some sections of the people of the Ikshvāku period, foreign influence is apparent.

The costume of the royal ladies and that of the ladies of the lower class looked similar and generally, comprised of a *langoṭī*—which was usually decorated : invariably, the knot (*nīvī or vastragranthi*) of the *langoṭī* was fastened in the front. In the dress of amorous ladies, the waist-band was elegantly decorated and similar to those seen in cave facades of Karle and the sculptures of Mathura. Sometimes the princesses wore *sārī(s)* similar to that worn by the present day women as seen in the princess Devagabbhā. However, this identification of the costume is not free from doubt, as it may also simply be an upper garment *stanottarīya* fully covering the front portion of the upper body. At times, the princesses also wore the *sārī(s)* round their waists, above the knees, leaving the upper portion of their bodies completely bare.

The artists of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā have showed remarkable uniformity in depicting the dress of the monks in the sculptures. They are in strict confirmity with the injunctions enjoyed in the Buddhist scriptures. A *sanghāṭi* reachihg the ankle, worn in the *vikaccha* fashion, and an *uttarīya* covering the upper half of the body was all that comprised their simple attire.

Some people of the Ikshvāku period also wore garments made of bark, as seen in case of some of the queens and male worshippers in the reliefs. Again the dress—to be used in the forest—comprised a piece of cloth tied round the waist with

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a narrow belt, and it extended not beyond the knees; however, no uppergarment was retained. An interesting feature of the *dhoti* worn by men of all classes was that it is shown extended below the knees in the case of the members of the royalty and nobility, while it ended just above the knees in the case of the men of lower classes.

The people of the Ikshvāku period had great love for personal ornamentation, it is evident from the variety of ornaments discussed earlier. Some of these ornaments were of local origin, while a few others had their parallels elsewhere—at Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Gandhāra etc., indicating their possible north Indianorigin.

The *agrapaṭṭa*(*s*) that adorned the heads of the Ikshvāku people had both utilitarian and decorative value. It is quite probable that the ornamental head-band, in course of its evolution, became the emblem of royalty; and it is not unlikely that some of the *agrapaṭṭa*(*s*) of our reliefs might have been some such emblems, denoting the social status or political prestige of the wearer. Popularity of fore-head ornaments among the females of the Ikshvāku period indicates prevalence of the custom of wearing the *lalāṭikā*(*s*), on the forehead, by the women. This disc-pendant was later replaced by the big-jewels (*Śīmanta cūḍāmaṇi*(*s*). Among the jewels, used on the head by women, the gem (*cūḍāmaṇi*) and the *makarikā* were the most customary. What later was—Bana's *cūḍāmaṇimakarikā* (ornament with *makara* motif or Mankha's *uttamāṅga-makarī* (crocodile ornament of the head), was well known in the Ikshvāku period.

The very existence of so many varieties of ear-ornaments, as detailed ealiar indicates the high aesthtic sense of the people of the Ikshvāku period. Many of the ear-ornaments have their surviving versions at present. Thus the disc shaped ear-ornaments and the *pushpa-kuṇḍala*(*s*) are surviving in the form of the *dhenri* of Bengal today and the modern *karṇaphūl*(*s*) of north India. The ear-ornament with the full-blown lotus pattern possibly represented *kanaka-kamalas* mentioned by Kālidāsa. Their name and pattern have survived to the present day in the *kammals* (or *kammalu* in Telugu) worn by the south Indian women. Similarly, the modern *jimiki* (or *jhumki* of north India) worn by the ladies of south India is the survival of the *karṇikā*. The beginning of *makara-kuṇḍala* is to be seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. This evolves into a more elaborate form in the later Gupta period.

Some of the ear-ornaments have their parallels in the Sunga and the Mathura art indicating thereby their possible north Indian origin. But one noteworthy feature is that the *karṇaveṣṭanas* which occur profusely in the early sculptures of Sanchi and Amaravati are totally absent at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Probably it may be due to the reason that the ear-ornament *karṇaveṣṭana*, like the one's known as *phalakahāra* that has literary and sculptural references, had gone out of use at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

The people of the Ikshvāku period did not seem to have adopted the nose-ornament even though they possibly knew its existence. The one (mentioned here in the Chapter on ornaments) that has been reported on the nostrils of the woman portrayed on the gold medallion is of foreign oreign.

Many of the necklaces of the Ikshvāku period have their survivals at present. Thus the coin necklace, *Nishka*, has its survival in the modern *kāsulaperu* of Andhra Pradesh and the *kāsumālai* of Tamilnadu. Similarly the *chūlaphala hāra* can

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be seen in the *māmidipindela* necklace of Andhra Pradesh and the *māngāmmālia* of Tamilnadu, and *kuyarīmālā* of Maharashtra States. It is noteworthy that the present day ladies of Andhra Pradesh wear necklaces resembling the *mallikā kutmala* and *jāti-kusumahāra* found in our reliefs. Similarly, the plain strings of cotton or plaited gold cords seen in the sculptures look like the *maṅgala-sūtra(s)* worn by the married women of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Mysore, and the Maharashtra States. In some cases the *kaṇṭhīs* sculptured in the reliefs have close similarity to the modern black bead *hāra* (*nallapūsalu*) worn by the married ladies in the above mentioned States.

The *phalakahāra* mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and profusely depicted in early Indian art is seen on the wane or almost absent in the sculptures of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and later in the Amaravati sculptures. Evidently, the popularity of the *phalakahāra* dwindled and in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā and other contemporary sculptures its place was taken up by the *ekāvali*, at times with the *nāyakamaṇi* in its centre. The popularity of this ornament could be seen also in the Kushana and the Gupta sculptures.

Interestingly, the Lambadis presently inhabiting the environs of the Kṛishṇā valley wear several bangles on their upper-arms; similar type of ornamentation also occurs in our reliefs—exclusively on the upper-arms of the female figures—indicating their indigenous origin. The upper-arm ornaments occur profusely throughout early Indian art with the exception of being representation at Sanchi.

Among the varieties of the waist ornaments, the *maṇimekhalās* and *mekhalākalāpas* seem to have been favoured very much by the people of the Ikshvāku period.

In some of the Ikshvāku ornaments foreign impact is apparent: the introduction of the clasp in a belt representation at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā seems to be of foreign origin. Probably the clasp came into India along with the Kushans, and at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā with the Scythians; it is completely absent (except the one doubtful example at Bharhut) in early sculptures.

Again, one can see the refinement in the depicted *mekhalās* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. In the matter of heaviness of the ornament, as compared to those of Sanchi and Bharhut, the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā specimens are elegant.

In the manufacture of ornaments the people of the Ikshvāku period appear to have adopted advanced processes in jewellery making. It appears that in the case of manufacturing gold beads the people seemed to have employed the technique of using a mould. They also knew filigree work and casting. The developed techniques like filigree work and granulation motifs were employed for decoration on some of the ornaments exposed to view lately in the excavations. The pair of gold ear-rings discovered in the recent excavations represent the best example of the balanced combination of these two developed techniques.

Among the coiffures known to the Ikshvāku period the peacock-plume hair style appears to be not so common as we find it in the early sculptures of Sanchi, Amaravati and Mathura. This hair style seems to have gained popularity in the Gupta period. However, it was the *praveṇī* that was very popular during the Ikshvāku period. It also appears frequently in the sculptures of Bharhut, Amaravati and

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Mathura. This popularity of the *praveṇī* continued also at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā; but it is almost absent in the Gandhāra art. Its rare occurrence at Ajanta clearly shows its much less use by the people of the *Vākāṭaka* Gupta period. Another noteworthy feature of the *praveṇī* is that it is almost absent at Sanchi. This may perhaps be due to the fact that at Sanchi it did not possibly find favour with the people—although the contemporary people at Bharhut and Amaravati favoured them most. At Sanchi the tendency was towards arranging the hair into a bun or a bunch. The hair style resembling the 'pony-tail' also found favour with the ladies of the Ikshvāku period.

The curly hair is a feature of this Nāgārjunakoṇḍā art. The depiction of curly hair appears mostly in the 2nd 3rd centuries A.D. In early sculptures it is very rare. It becomes extremely profuse during the *vākāṭaka*-Gupta period again.

In some of the hair style of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā foreign influence is seen; the presence of the bun among the contemporary coiffures is one such example. Probably owing to the trade contacts that India had with the Mediterranean countries this particular style was introduced into India sometime in the Ist century B.C. It becomes a common coiffure at Amaravati in the early centuries of the Christian era and it continued to enjoy its popularity at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. This coiffure is present in the Mathura and Gandhāra arts and it becomes extremely popular in the *Vākāṭaka* Gupta period.

The wig-like treatment of the hair at times seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā appears to be once again an introduction of the foreigners. It was introduced into India by the Greco-Romans and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā through, possibly, the Scythians.

The people of the Ikshvāku period made a welcome departure, in the matter of head-dress, from the older fashion of wearing the turban. It was, before them, with a spherical protrusion at the front and they adopted, instead, the usage of the circular metal plaques in the centre of their head dresses. This probably evolved into a tiara which, in character and composition, was not very different from its prototypes in the turban. This development of the turban into the later *tiara(s)* is clearly traceable at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The large top-members of the head-dresses generally contained decorations like the floral ones or were merely egg-shaped or had rectangular plaques, with or without designs.

Among the variety of caps known to them, particularly the conical caps that at times had the streamers attached, could be foreign origin. In all probability, the soldiers that are seen wearing these conical caps, in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs may be the Scythians with whom the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā people came into contact through trade in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Indra (*śakra*) appears with a cylindrical cap in Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs. In his early representations at Sanchi and Bhaja he is shown wearing only a turban. At Nāgārjunakoṇḍā the turban in *sakra's* case, has been completely replaced by the cylindrical head-dress.

As regards the head-dresses of women, sometimes, ladies are shown having discarded the heavy type of head-dress and favoured much lighter ones, which, not in the least diminished the beauty of their person.

Among the domestic vessels and other house hold objects there was not any

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appreciable change during the long span of five thousand years of Indian history. The vessels like bowls, basins, veses, high necked vessels or *kūjas*, spouted vessels, drinking cups, ladles, pots—with or without lids— jars etc., formed part of the domestic utensils of the Ikshvāku period.

The spouted vessels with handles (*bhṛingāra*) used in the Ikshvāku period are still prevalent among the ascetics in India. The *dhammakaraka* used by the Buddhist monks was probably of this type. Some of the wine jars that appear to be of the amphora ware in the reliefs and were supposedly imported from the contemporary Mediterranean countries, interestingly enough, were found in the recent excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā to be as such.

The people of the Ikshvāku period for carrying water, used an interesting contrivance which resembles the present day *kāvaḍi* of Andhra Pradesh. The monks carried their food in cloth bags like the modern *jogis*. Such cloth bags are known as *joli(s)* in Andhra Pradesh and *paḍśī* in Maharashtra State. The people of this period had the practice of keeping their food articles hanging in a cloth bag by suspending it to the ceiling of the house. These have their modern counterparts in the *utti* of Andhra Pradesh, the *uri* of Tamilnadu; the *Sinke* of Maharastra and the *sikahar* of the north India.

In manufacture of basket-work the techniques which are now well known—like plaited work, twilled work, and the furcate coil work—were possibly employed during the Ikshvāku period also. Among the represented fans, the square shaped fans, resembling the modern *peshwar paṅkhās* appeared to have been very popular during the Ikshvāku period as was also the case at Ajanta and in Gandhāra. The current practice of keeping a lamp (*pramida*) burning near the dead body also existed even in those days.

The furniture illustrated in the reliefs mostly belongs to the contemporary royalty for the artists of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā were particular in depicting the urban life. However, there were a few small thrones, with or without armrests but with solid bases, which appear to have been favoured most during the Ikshvāku period. Among the large thrones, those which had no backs and could be identified as the *miḍhī(s)* were, once, invariably used by the Buddhists. Likewise, the rectangular seats - with solid bases—were generally meant for Brahmins; it is evident from their depiction in the reliefs. And it is also quite probable that the small thrones, with solid lower structures, developed from such seats.

It appears that among the chairs the three-legged and high-backed type (with or without arm-rests) was very popular; and it was exclusively meant for the use of females during the Ikshvāku period. The circular seats or *moras* (*vetrāsanas*) were again of common use and were utilised by all classes of the people. Among the foot-stools (*pādapīṭhas*), the rectangular ones appeared to be more popular during the Ikshvāku period. The bedsteads were luxurious:pillows and cushions were used freely.

The people of the Ikshvāku period were lovers of music. Among the stringed instruments, harp, guitar and the *vīṇa* with a straight board, were known to them. The harp occurs frequently at Bharhut, Sanchi, Pitalkhora, Amaravati, Goli and Mathura. It also appears in Gandhāra sculptures but slightly in a different form.

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Many percussion instruments known to the Ikshvāku period have their counterparts at this present time. Thus the *mardala* of yore resembles very much the modern *tavil*. Likewise, their *paṭaha* has its modern counterparts in the *daph* used in Maharashtra or the *dappu* or *tappeda* of Andhra Pradesh, or the *tappedi* of Mysore. Among the wind instruments the conch (without a pipe) seemed to have found favour during the Ikshvāku period. As for the solid instruments the cymbals (*ghana*) were known to the period.

The study of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā weapons gives us a fair idea of the various weapons during the Ikshvāku period, some of which were eventually superceded by more efficient models, while others remained standard featurrs of the Indian military system. It appears, during this period, weapons were used mostly by men, and only in a few exceptional instances the *khaḍgavāhinis* and the *pratīharis* appear with swords in the reliefs. This would show that the use of weapons by the females was confined only to some sections of society. It is interesting to note that similar female guards are depicted in some of the Gandhāra sculptures,[1] but they usually are depicted holding spears instead of swords as at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. During the Ikshvāku period, the Mauryan practice of posting female guards or amazons at the entrance of a harm appears to have continued.

The *khaḍgavāhinis* with sword on their shoulder seem to have been the general order of the day. The contemporary Amaravati sculptures also tend to confirm this. Thus, it is apparent that females who used weapons were posted with a specific purpose. As to the remaining sections of the females we may safely presume that the use of the weapons was not in vogue with them.

The kings, ministers, princes, generals, etc. always carried swords indicating thereby that, during the Ikshvāku period, the sword was a special weapon of nobility and of men of high rank connected with the administration of the state.

The foot soldiers, the cavalry men, the attendants etc., all, of the ordinary class, were provided with spears and clubs. The spears and shields were usually carried together. But it appears that it was not the practice of the swordsmen and the men bearing clubs as weapons to carry the shield along with them. Sometimes shields were used independently; among the shields, the oblong ones appear to have been mostly in use during the Ikshvāku period without the accompaniment of any other weapon.

The bow and the mace seem to have been rare weapons during the Ikshvāku period. It is interesting to note that the mounted bow-man is conspicuously absent in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā reliefs, while the earlier sculptures like those at Sanchi and other contemporary specimens like those at Amaravati depict mounted-bowmen.

The sculptures do not reveal quivers : even depiction of an arrow is seen only once. However, the existence of the quivers can be deduced from the presence of the bows in the reliefs. Moreover, the contemporary Goli sculptures depict the quiver along with the plain self-bow.[2]

1 J. Hackin, *Guide-Catelogue due Musee Guimet* (Paris, 1923), Pl. I.

2 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, (Goli Sculptures), pl. IV-2.A.

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The dagger like the club, was possibly used exclusively by attendants and soldiers.

The reliefs depict only kings, ministers, military officers, soldiers and guards with weapons. But as regards the rest of the population, we are left in the dark. We have no evidence to say, however, that the rest of the population was forbidden to use weapons.

As can be seen from the sculptures the military organization of the Ikshvāku seems to have reached a high state of efficiency. It was a well organized army. That the military code was strictly adhered to in the Ikshvāku period can be known from the panel illustrating the war scene. We see in it, the sword man attacking his counterpart which is in strict confirmity with the rules enjoyed in early Indian battles.

The people of the Ikshvāku period used several types of conveyances. Horses, well bred and probably imported from central Asia and Persia, and elephants were used for riding. Horses and elephants were all well caparisoned. It is noteworthy that the bits for the horse's mouths were known in the Ikshvāku period. There is also an indication of the use of stirrups (*rakab*). It is quite probable that the stirrups at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā were of foreign origin and were introduced by the Śakas or Scythians. The breast-band of the horse used to be decorated with *kiṅkiṇīs* or *lavaṇa-kalāyi*. Similarly the necks of the elephants used to be decorated with cresentic pendants and their ears were adorned with *karṇacūlīs*. Evidently, the elephants formed a very strong wing of the army of the Ikshvāku period.

The bullock-carts with solid or spoked-wheels were used for travelling, while the wagons were used for the transport of goods. It is noteworthy that these carts have their modern counterparts.

The ball games and rattle play were known to the children of the period under study. The children knew to play with 'marbles', at hop scotch, and with toy carts or toy horses. The elders busied themselves in amusements like watching wrestling matches, cock-fights, at snake-charmers and games like the stick-play; they played at dice, *aṭṭhapada*, and the game resembling the modern *patchis*. Many of these games have their modern counterparts. Thus, their ball game has its survival in the *lārilappa* of Maharashtra; the hope-scotch in *tokkudu billa* of Andhra Pradesh or *ṭikkaribilla* of Maharashtra; their stick-play in *Kolātam* of Andhra Pradesh and *kolāta* of the Mysore region. Similarly the modern games like *attachamma*, *zānābettha*, *pulizūdam*, *patchis* etc. have close affinities to the ancient Indian games, and possibly some of them like the *attachamma* and *patchis* had their prototypes in the Ikshvāku period. In all probability, some of these modern games are only derivatives of the ancient games.

Keeping a parrot in a cage in their *antepura*(*s*) was a common feature in the Ikshvāku period. Again, the usage of single-pan balances for weighing, writing materials like the stylusis, palm leaves etc., were all known to them. It appears, the general custom among the people of the Ikshvāku period was to go about bare footed as is still prevalent in some rural parts of the south India.

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The royal insignia (*parichchhada*) of the Ikshvāku rulers comprised royal throne, umbrella, pair of fly-whisks etc. The banners and standards were carried either before or behind the king. These banners, like the royal umbrellas, were also used freely for religious purposes.

The flora illustrated in the reliefs is scanty, and probably it may be due to the fact that the artists of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā in their endeavour to portray the urbanised contemporary life, which was full of sensuous worldiness, relagated the nature to the back-ground. It is noteworthy that much of the flora and fauna known to the Ikshvāku period still survives in and around Nāgārjunakoṇḍā.

The study of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures clearly shows that this art is the product of homogenous and integrated Āndhra School of art. It has unmistakably an indigenous element in it. The Ikshvākus were also probably indigenous to the Kṛishṇā valley. The characteristics of the physiognomical forms of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures and those of the Chenchus, who presently inhabit the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā valley, are so similar that an ethnic conditioning of the art is strongly indicated.

Technically and psychologically the art of Nāgārjunakoṇḍā is far removed from the art of Bharhut and Sanchi and reflects an urbanised economy—fed by local crafts, industries and sea borne trade. It indicates the transitional phase of Buddhism as well as of art under the Ikshvākus. Here we find the Buddha in human form along with his symbolic representation. The perspective and depth were never a problem to the Ikshvāku artists who could, with ease, carve out figures with three dimensional effects, unlike the Bharhut figures which appear flat and facile. However, the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures distinguish themselves by their roughness of texture, primitivism, and heaviness in contrast to the graceful and refined Amaravati sculptures. Yet, as compared to the strongly built *yakshis* of the Bhuteśwar pillar the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā forms are physically smaller but more tender and refined than that found at Mathura. The impact of Gandhāra art is evident in the form of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva.

It is apparent that one of the causes of the phenomenal spread of Buddism and Buddhist establishments in the Kṛishṇā valley was the resultant prosperity of land and sea borne trade. As a result of this trade with foreign countries this region, along with other parts of the south India, came under the impact of foreign influence. The evidence of impact of the art of the Hellenistic east and Rome is clearly visible in some of the terracottas discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. Again the figures of two *śakas* portrayed on the ornate pillar with the ethnic and sartorial characteristics are sufficient proofs of such contacts.

Thus, we see in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍā sculptures a picturesque panorama of life that thrived during the Ikshvāku period. We witness emergence of many innovations and the retrieval of older traditions : for, tradition dies hard, and more so in a country like India.

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